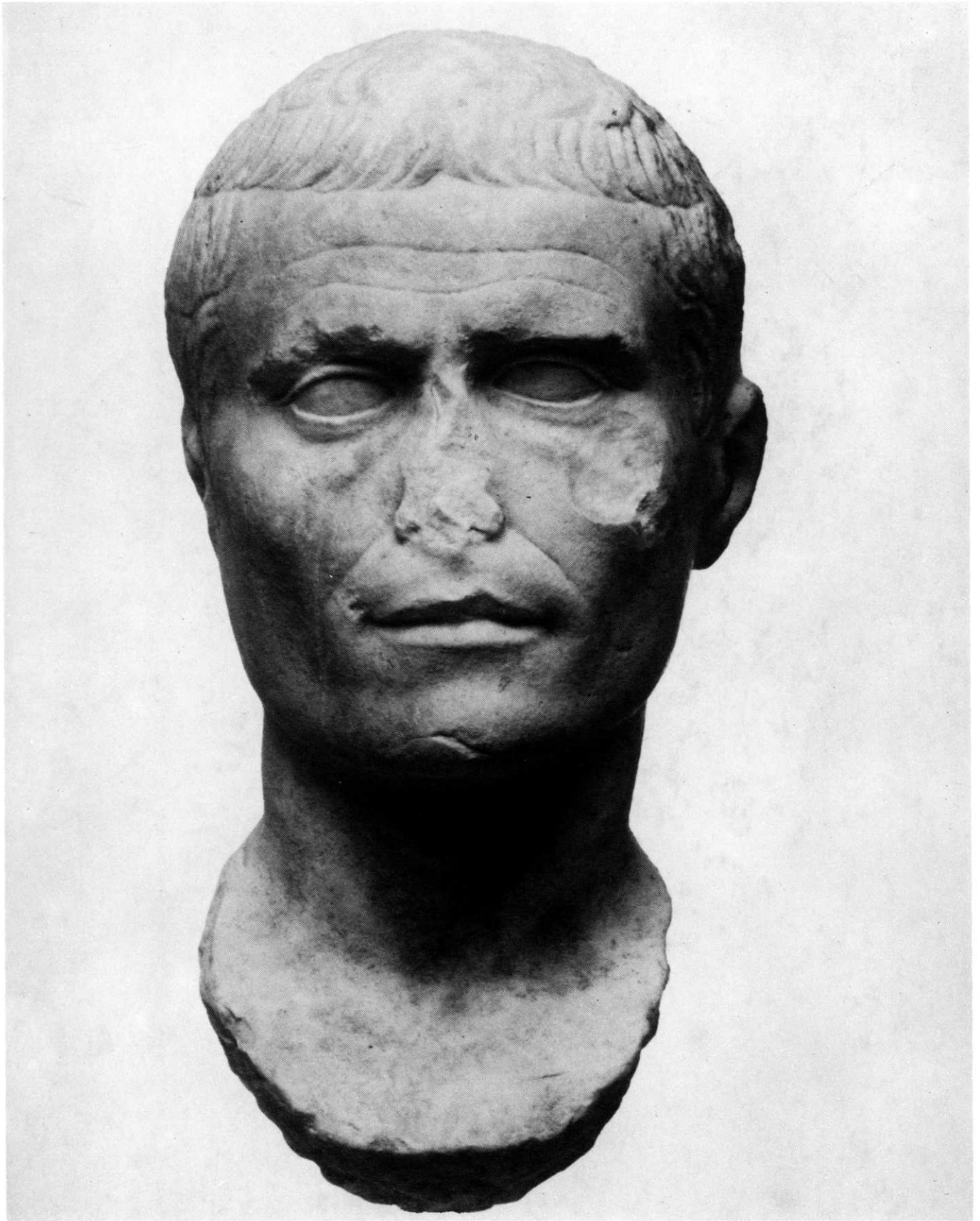




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**The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu, California**

Volume 5

Jiří Frel, Editor

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This issue includes for the first time contributions dealing with conservation and related matters; thus, it is an appropriate tribute to the memory of David Rinne, who headed the conservation of antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum from the Fall of 1973 to the end of 1976. The Editor wishes to thank Summa Galleries Inc. of Beverly Hills for a grant in Mr. Rinne's memory which allowed us to expand this volume. A note on Mr. Rinne's conservation of ancient marbles will appear in Volume 7.

Most of the photographs of the pieces in the J. Paul Getty Museum were taken by Donald A. Hull, the Museum photographer.

For a forthcoming issue the curators of the Museum are preparing contributions on J. Paul Getty, our late founder, as a collector.

Editor

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DAVID RINNE
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Abb. 1 Kopf in Malibu (nach Gipsabguss) Hauptansicht

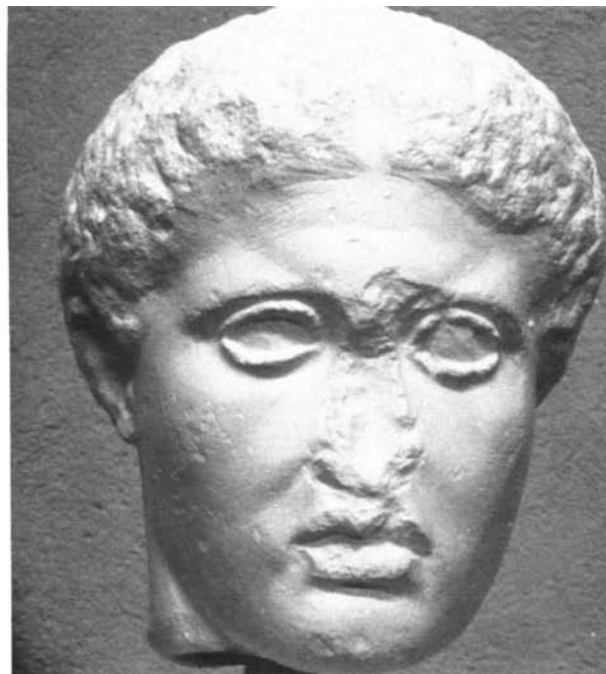


Abb. 2 Kopf, Abb. 1, en face (nach Gipsabguss)

EIN METOPENKOPF VOM PARTHENON?

Angstvolle Spannung beherrscht diesen unterlebensgrossen Kopf eines knabenhaften Jünglings¹ (Abb. 1-2). Die Asymmetrien des wohlgerundeten Schädels und die in der Augen- und Mundpartie und dazu die bewegten Nackenmuskeln lassen erkennen, dass der Kopf zur rechten Korperseite gewendet war.

Abkürzungen:

Brommer F. Brommer, Die Metopen des Parthenon. Katalog und Untersuchung (Mainz 1967).

Rodenwaldt G. Rodenwaldt, Köpfe von den Südmetopen des Parthenon. Abhandlung der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Phil.Hist.Klasse, Jahrgang 1945/46 Nr. 7 (Berlin 1948).

J. Frel danke ich sehr fuer die grosszügige Erlaubnis, dieses kostbare griechische Original hier publizieren zu dürfen.-E. Berger in

Gestraffte Muskeln ziehen die betont plastischen Oberlider bis auf die Brauenbögen hoch, trennen fast die weichen, kindlich-vollen Lippen voneinander und buckeln die Stirn kraftig, zeichnen sich weiterhin als Falten in die Wangen und um die Flugel der verlorenen Nase ein.

Basel danke ich herzlich für hilfreiche Gespräche über diesen Kopf in der Skulpturhalle und seine Ermunterung, diesen Aufsatz abzufassen.

1) J. Paul Getty Museum, 75.AA.47. Pentelischer Marmor; eine charakteristische Ader in der linken Gesichtshälfte. Der Kopf ist unterhalb vom Kinn abgebrochen; ein Teil des Nackens ist erhalten; die Nase fehlt. Abgesehen von Bestossungen im Gesicht, an den Augenlidern und Lippen ist die Oberfläche weitgehend intakt und nicht verwittert. Auf der Mitte des Schädels ist ein kleines rundes Loch, vermutlich fuer einen Meniskos (s.note 24). Höhe Kinn-Scheitel 17.5 cm.



Abb. 3 Kopf, Abb. 1, richtiges Profil (nach Gipsabguss)



Abb. 4 Kopf, Abb. 1 Schädel von oben (nach Gipsabguss)



Abb. 5 Kopf, Abb. 1, Rückansicht (nach Gipsabguss)

Die konzentrierte Anspannung teilt sich als weich verschliffene Bewegung auf der jugendlich-straffen Haut mit, deren samtigen Charakter der nicht bis zum Politurhaften geglättete Marmor wiedergibt.

Das noch fast kindlich runde Gesicht umschließt eine gleichmäßig-voluminöse Haarkappe, die die Ohren frei lässt und als federnde Hülle den schön gewölbten Schädel betont (Abb. 3-4). Die rauhe, skizzenhafte Oberfläche erfasst die stoffliche Erscheinung des Haares. Die Unterschiede von Haut und Haar sind in der abgestuften Behandlung der Oberfläche in Stein übertragen. Diese auswählende und subordinierende Formung akzentuiert den Bildgehalt. Die bewegten Gesichtszüge spiegeln einen seelischen Zustand so glaubhaft, dass dieses Bild in einem höheren Sinn naturwahr erscheint.

Der knabenhafte Jünglingskopf ist ein Meisterwerk der hohen Klassik.

Kopfhaltung und die bewegten Gesichtszüge bestimmen den Kopf als ein Fragment aus einer Gruppe; genauer, als Teil einer Kampfgruppe.

Die flüchtigere Behandlung des Haares am Hinterkopf (Abb. 5) weist auf ein Hochrelief, von dessen Grund der Kopf frei war.

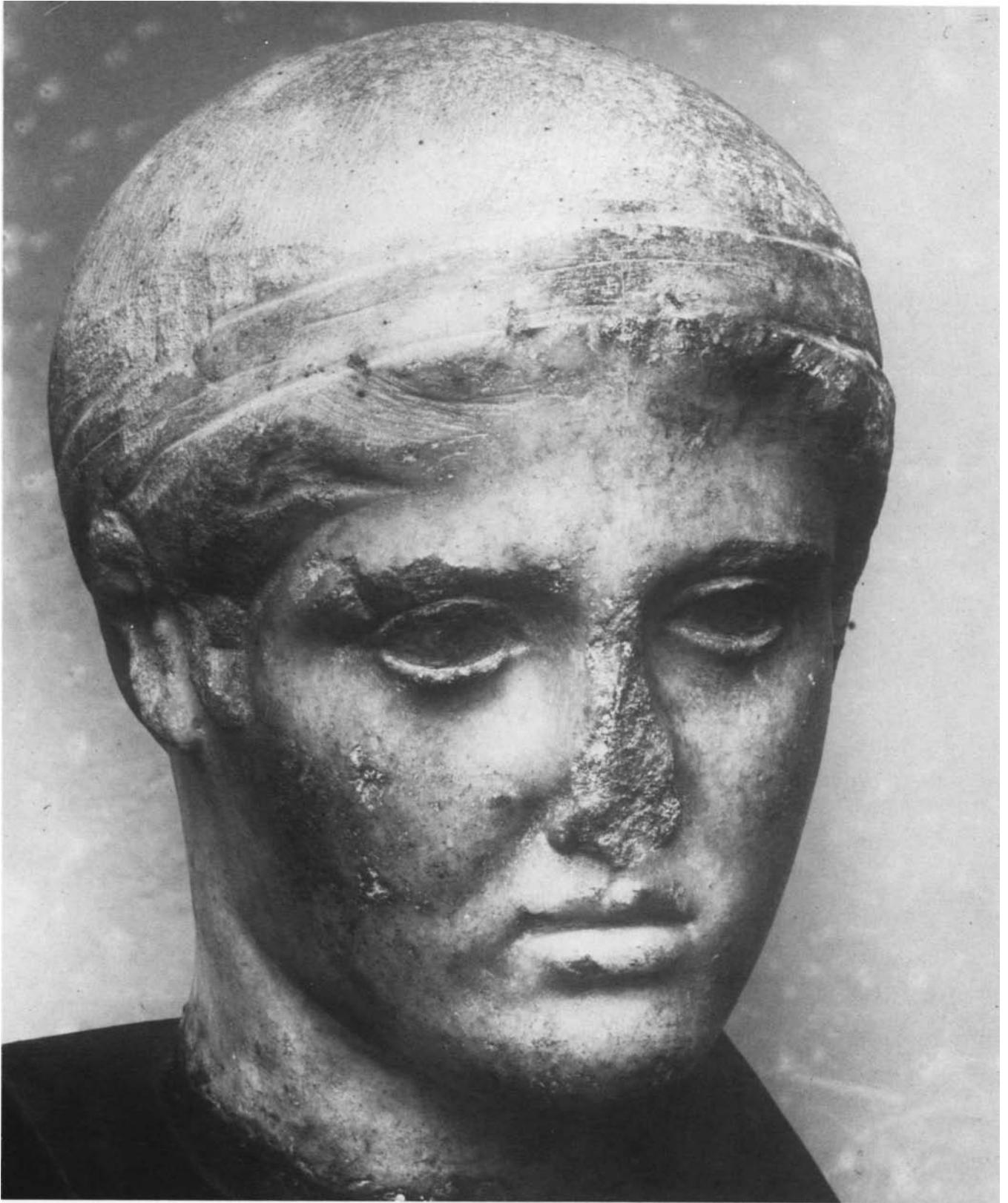


Abb. 6 Jünglingskopf, Akropolis Museum 699. Foto DAIA



Abb. 7 Parthenon-Südmetspe III, British Museum, Foto Hirmer 561.0116



Abb. 8 Parthenon-Südmetspe V, British Museum. Foto British Museum.



Abb. 9 Parthenon-Südmetspe XXVII, British Museum, Foto Hirmer 561.0118.



Abb. 10 Parthenon-Südmetspe XXVIII, British Museum, Foto Hirmer 561.0119.

Pentelischer Marmor, die Grösse des Kopfes² und die Ikonographie lassen fragen, ob dieser hochklassische Reliefkopf zu einem Lapithen von den Südmetspen des Parthenon gehört?

2) Zu den Massen der Metopenfiguren zusammenfassend Brommer 169. Die Grösse des Kopfes entspricht derjenigen anderer Südmetspenköpfe, z.B.:

S I: Parthenon; Lapithenkopf Höhe 17,5 cm. (gemessen am Gips in Basel, Skulpturhalle); Brommer 71 f. Taf. 155.

S VI: Lapithenkopf in Athen, Akropolis Museum 6511 (ex Athen, Nat.Mus. 3258) Höhe 17,5 cm nach K. Kuruniotis, ArchEph 1913, 200 Abb. 7; nach M. S. Brouskari, Musée de l'Acropole (Edition de la Banque Commerciale de Grèce, Athènes 1974) 158 Abb. 269, Höhe 16,5 cm. Ich habe 1976 im Akropolismuseum als Höhe (Kinn-Scheitel) 17 cm gemessen.

S VII: Lapithenkopf in Paris, Louvre 737, Höhe 18 cm; Encyclopédie photographique de l'art, Tome III (Paris 1938) 162 B; Ch. Waldstein, JHS 3 (1882) 229 Taf. 23 gibt als Höhe 17 cm; ich habe am Gips in Basel, Skulpturhalle, 18 cm gemessen. - Kentaurkopf in London, Brit.Mus. Höhe 22 cm; Brommer 86 Taf. 189.

Die erhaltenen Jünglingsköpfe³ der Metopen sind sehr unterschiedlich geformt. Allenfalls der Kopf von S XVI⁴ steht unserem Kopf nah. Seine korrodierte Oberfläche lässt aber nur noch sehen, dass die verzerrte Physiognomie ebenfalls durch plastische Verschiebungen der Gesichtszüge erreicht ist. Unser Kopf stimmt zwar mit dem Lapithenkopf S VII⁵ im Louvre darin überein, wie an der linken Schläfe der Übergang von glatter Haut zu rauher Haardecke gestaltet ist, und gleichartig ist auch der Ansatz des Stirnhaares bei dem Kentaur S XXX⁶. Diese handwerkliche Einzelheit besagt aber noch nicht, dass der Kopf zu den Metopen gehört, denn ein Jünglingskopf aus parischem Marmor von der Akropolis⁷, der wegen des Materials nicht zu den Metopen gehören kann, hat einen ganz ähnlichen Übergang von Haut zu Haar (Abb. 6).

Können wir trotzdem unseren Kopf einer Südmetope zuweisen? Auf Grund der Kopfwendung nach rechts kämen die schon bei Carrey⁸ fehlenden Lapithenköpfe der Metopen S III⁹ oder S V¹⁰ in Betracht; die Metope S XI¹¹ ist eher auszuschließen: der Jünglingskopf erscheint bei Carey stark aufwärts gedreht; ausserdem passt die drohende Haltung des schwertführenden Jünglings nicht recht zur angsterfüllten Miene unseres Kopfes¹². Von den beiden Lapithen, die wir in die engere Wahl ziehen, kennen wir im Original nur den Körper von S III¹³.

An den beiden erhaltenen Kentaurleibern können wir Stilunterschiede in der plastischen Durchbildung dieser beiden Metopen beobachten und für die Frage, ob unser Kopf sich mit einer verbinden lässt, auswerten. Der Kentaur S III¹⁴ (Abb. 7) kämpft mit seinem menschlichen Oberkörper in komplizierter Drehung über seinen steigenden Pferdeleib; die ungleichartigen Teile handeln getrennt und ihre Einzelformen stehen ebenso parataktisch zueinander¹⁵.

Der Kentaur S V (Abb. 8) verschmilzt Menschen und Pferdeteil zu einem übermenschlichen, kraftvoll agierenden Leibgebilde. Die gleitenden Übergänge in den Muskelpartien erwecken den Eindruck eines von innerer Kraft bewegten Körpers. Bis in die Schwanz-

spitze hinein regiert ein starker Kraftstrom die kühne Gestalt.

Nach unserer Kenntnis von der Stilentwicklung ist die Metope S V die fortschrittlichere¹⁶. Der Jünglingskopf gleicht in der plastischen Bewegung seiner von Entsetzen geprägten Gesichtszüge der subtilen Modellierung des mächtigen Kentaurleibes¹⁷. Das spricht für seine Verbindung mit der Metope S V.

Kann man diese Zuweisung weiter erhärten?

Der von Carrey nicht gezeichnete Kopf des Kentaurn ist seit langem in einem Fragment eines Bärtigen in Würzburg (Abb. 11-12) identifiziert¹⁸. Die beiden Köpfe stimmen äusserlich darin überein, dass ihre antiken

3) Brommer 71 - 129 Taf. 155 - 239. - Die Zeichnungen der Südmetopen von J. Carrey (1674-78) bei Brommer Taf. 149 - 152. Bei Carrey fehlen Jünglingsköpfe an folgenden Metopen: II. III. VI. XIII. XVII. XXIII. XXVI.

Der bei Carrey fehlende Lapithenkopf VI wurde 1920 von F. Studniczka identifiziert: Brommer 85 Taf. 184.

Heute fehlen Jünglingsköpfe an folgenden Metopen: (die auch bei Carrey fehlenden kennzeichnen römische Ziffern) 2. III. V. 8. 11? XIII. 14. 15. XVII. XXIII. 24. XXVI. 27.

Erhaltene Jünglingsköpfe (in Klammern Taf. bei Brommer): I (161), 4 (176). 6 (184). 7 (189,2) 9. (196). 11? (241,2,3). 16 (204). 30 (229). 31 (234).

4) Brommer 100 Nr. 1 Taf. 204,3.-Der bärtige Kopf im Vatikan, Brommer 101 Taf. 205 (note 2) wird allgemein als Kopf seines Gegners angesprochen; E. Simon, JdI 90 (1975) 109 und 112 deutet ihn als Ixion, den Stammvater der Kentauren.-Dieser bärtige Kopf ist plastisch einfacher und weniger ausdrucksvoll als der Jünglingskopf. Daher möchte ich aus stilistischen Gründen den bärtigen Kopf dieser Metope abschreiben wie K. Jeppesen, ActaA 34 (1963) 137 (mit anderer Begründung).

5) Brommer 86 Taf. 189,2.-Linke Kopfseite bei Rodenwaldt Taf.23 (nach Gips) und Édition Tel (supra n.2) 162 B.

6) Rodenwaldt Taf. 17,2.

7) Athen, Akropolis Museum 699; Höhe 22,5 cm.-G. Dickins, Catalogue of the Acrop.Mus.Vol. I Archaic Sculpt. (Cambridge 1912) 266 Nr. 699; H. Schrader, Phidias (Frankfurt a.Main 1924) 128 Abb. 113 - 115. 119; M.S. Brouskari (supra n.2) 141 Abb. 252. Hier nach Fotos des DAInst Athen, die ich B. Schmaltz verdanke.

8) Brommer Taf. 149. 150.

9) Brommer 79 f. Taf. 169 - 171.

10) Brommer 83 f. Taf. 178 - 180. Foto Brit.Mus.

11) Brommer 93 f. Taf. 199.

12) E. Simon, JdI 90 (1975) 103 f. deutet die Gestalt als Peirithoos. Diese Deutung kann für unseren fast kindlichen Kopf nicht zutreffen.

13) Brommer Taf. 169. 171.

14) Brommer Taf. 169. Foto Hirmer 561.0116.

15) supra n.9.

16) Brommer 79 f. (Urteile über S III), 84 (Urteile über S V).

17) Im Ausdruck verhaltener, in der plastischen Modellierung zurückhaltender sind die Metopenköpfe S IV: Rodenwaldt Taf.20; Brommer Taf. 176,2 und S VII: Rodenwaldt Taf.23; Brommer Taf. 189,2 mit unserem Kopf vergleichbar hingegen ist der Lapithenkopf S XVI: supra n.4.

18) supra n.2; Rodenwaldt Taf. 9.10 (nach Gips); Brommer 83 Taf. 180,4; hier nach Museumsfotos, für die ich G. Beckel herzlich danke.

S V: Kentaurkopf in Würzburg, Martin v. Wagner Museum, Antikenabteilung H 2446, Höhe 24 cm; E. Simon u. Mitarbeiter, M.v.Wagner Mus. Antikenabt. (Mainz 1975) 245 Taf. 59.

SIX: Jünglingskopf Athen, Akropolis Museum 722; Höhe 19,5 cm (gemessen am Gips in Basel, Skulpturhalle); Brommer 118 Taf. 196, 241, 1 (S XXVII).

S XVII: Bärtiger Kopf im Vatikan, Höhe 19,2 cm; W. Fuchs in Helbig⁴ I Nr. 872; Brommer 101 (mit weiterer Literatur zur Frage der Zugehörigkeit zur Metope S XVI).

S XXXI: Lapithenkopf in London, Brit.Mus., Höhe 17 cm (gemessen wie S I); Brommer 126 Taf. 234.

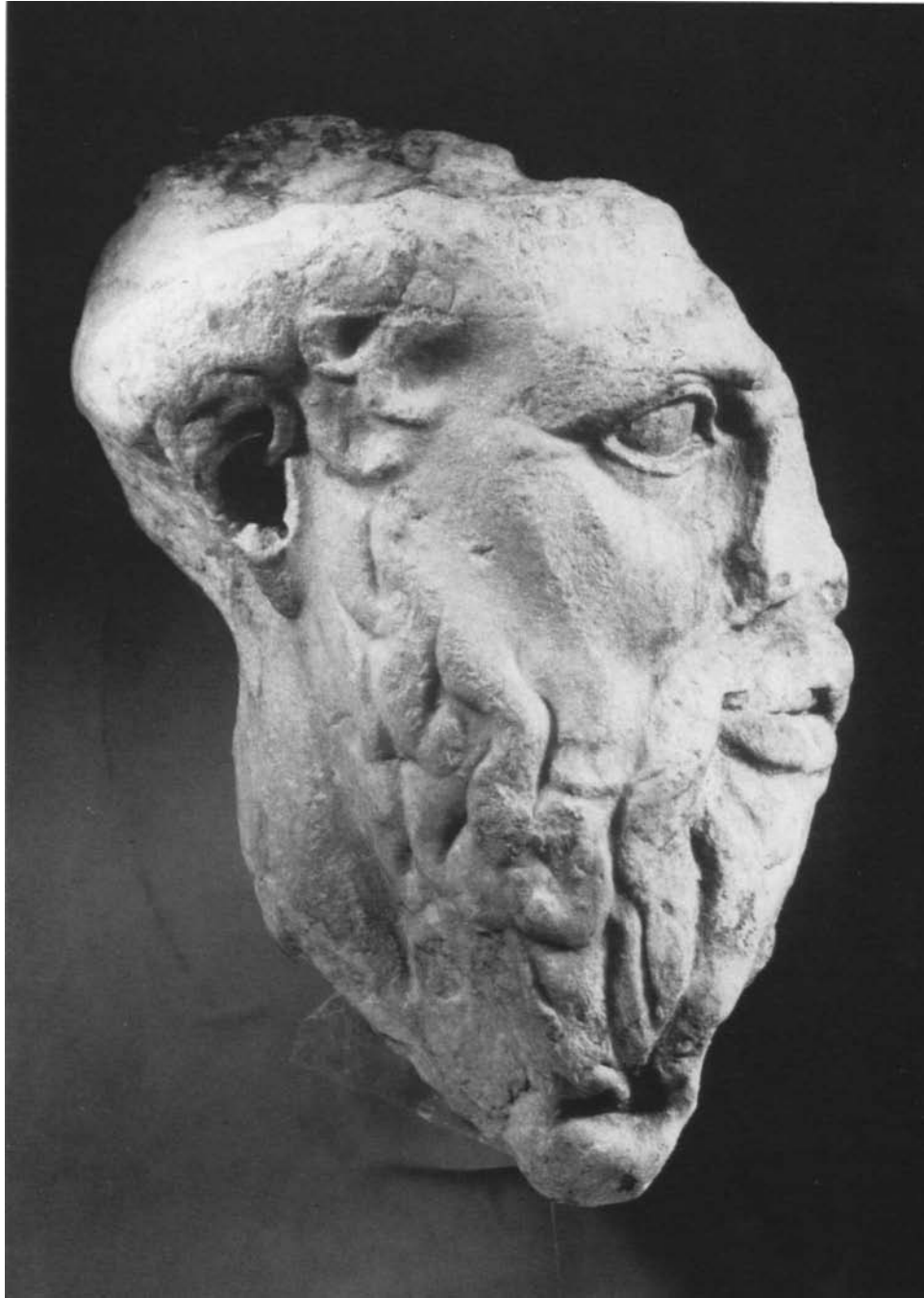


Abb. 11 Kentaurkopf von der Parthenon-Südmetope V Würzburg,
Martin von Wagner Museum. Foto Museum.

Oberflächen - abgesehen von gewaltsamen Beschädigungen nicht verwittert sind¹⁹.

Kentaur - und Jünglingskopf verbindet ihre Formsprache: die plastisch reich differenzierende und dabei zurückhaltend modellierte Bewegung im Antlitz, die den altersmässigen Abstand und den unterschiedlichen Seelenzustand gestaltet.

19) Dieser Kopf hat sich zu Carreys Zeit (1674) nicht mehr in situ befunden: S V bei Brommer Taf. 149.-Ungewöhnlich gut erhalten ist auch die Epidermis des Jünglingstorsos in Athen, Akropolis Museum 7251, den M.S. Bruskari, AthMitt 80 (1965) 132 Beilage 44,1.2 der S Metope XXIII zuweisen möchte. Diesen Lapithenkörper hat Carrey noch gezeichnet; er befand sich länger in situ als die beiden Köpfe der S Metope V, deren Oberflächenpartien ebenfalls nicht verwittert sind.



Abb. 12 Kopf Abb. 9 - Ansicht von rechts

Schlaffe Haut in der Wangenpartie, Krähenfüsse am äusseren Augenwinkel und fleischige Brauenwülste, die teilweise über das Augenlid sacken, sowie die seichte Einbuchtung an der Schläfe sagen das fortgeschrittene Alter des bärtigen Kopfes aus; derbe Bartzotteln²⁰ von unbestimmter Form im einzelnen, eine - nach der Bruchfläche - kurze, breite Nase mit

betontem Querwulst am Sattel und eine sehr pralle, in

20) Zu vergleichen sind die in ihrer Anlage noch erkennbaren geordneten Frisuren der alten Männer am Parthenon-Nordfries X, 38 - 43: A. H. Smith, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* (London 1910) Taf. 44. Das Haar des Kentauren ist wilder. Die Beschreibung seiner Frisur bei Rodenwaldt 13, als Zopffrisur, ist unrichtig. Siehe dazu Th. Lorenz in E. Simon und Mitarbeiter, *M.v. Wagner Mus.* (supra n.2) 245.

der Mitte gekerbte Unterlippe deuten leise, aber unmissverständlich die halbtierische Natur in diesem Altersgesicht an²¹.

Die hochgezogene Oberlippe entblösst die obere Zahnreihe und drückt so eine zornige Erregung aus über den Gegner, der den Kentauren durch seinen Griff an den Bart belästigt; aus dem ruhigen Blick spricht die Überlegenheit des Alten. Diese thematisch unvergleichbaren Köpfe verbindet ihre qualitätvolle Arbeit, die mit gleichartigen Mitteln die unterschiedlichen Gefühle darstellt.

Die unwillige Erregung des alten Mischwesens und die unsagbare Angst seines fast kindlichen Gegners sind so unmittelbar verständlich geworden, dass sie fast kunstlos erscheinen.

Carreys Zeichnung²² gibt eine gewisse Vorstellung von der dramatischen Situation der beiden ungleichen Gegner. Wir kennen nur noch den Kentauren, der sich im Angriff zugleich dem lästigen Griff des Lapithen zu entziehen sucht. Dessen Körper war - nach den Spuren auf dem Metopengrund²³ (Abb. 8) - fast freiplastisch²⁴; die Zeichnung lässt erkennen, dass der Leib, knabenhaft biegsam in seiner Bewegung, angstvoll dem mächtigen Gegner ausweicht und ihn mit ausgestrecktem rechten Arm abwehrend²⁵ zu packen versucht.

Nicht nur die Proportionen²⁶, auch die Bewegung des Körpers erscheint in der Zeichnung noch fast knabenhaft. Diese gleiche Altersstufe gibt auch der Kopf wieder. Eine Gegenüberstellung mit dem oben schon verglichenen etwa gleichzeitigen Ephebenkopf von der Akropolis²⁷ mag es verdeutlichen. In diesem Kopf

haben sich die kindlichen Rundungen des Knabengesichts - in der Wangen und Kinnpartie - bereits verloren; Antlitz wie Schädelform sind stärker vom Gerüst der Knochen bestimmt. Man könnte sagen, der Kopf von der Akropolis gibt den wenig älteren Bruder des Knaben, um damit den Altersunterschied und darüber hinaus den engen künstlerischen Zusammenhang in beiden Köpfen anzudeuten.

Es scheint mir sehr gut möglich, wenn auch nicht beweisbar, dass der Knabenkopf dem Gegner des Würzburger Kentaurenkopfes gehört.

Die Gestaltung dieser Metope S V ist gleich eindringlich wie S I²⁸; in der Differenzierung der Stimmung der ungleichen Gegner geht sie über letztere hinaus²⁹. Bei S V löst sich die menschliche Figur vom Reliefgrund wie bei S XVI und S XXVII (Abb. 9)³⁰. S V und S XXVII gleichen sich in der Dramatik der Handlung wie in der Komposition der Figuren zueinander. Der Überlegene - bei S V der Kentauren, bei S XXVII der Lapith - dominiert im Bildfeld über einem nur noch abwehrenden Gegner. Diese beiden Kampfmeterbilder schliessen sich gegenüber der S XXVIII zusammen, die das Thema weiter spannt: der siegessichere Kentauren stürmt ungehindert über den leblosen Lapithen hinweg (Abb. 10)³¹.

Ohne die seelisch differenzierenden Götter - und Menschenbilder des Phidias, Athena Lemnia und Anakreon³², ist der Bildhauer der Metope S V nicht denkbar für uns; doch haben wir keine Gewissheit, dass es Phidias war, der den Meissel führte³³.

Martha Weber
Freiburg im Breisgau

21) Die eingehende Alterscharakterisierung und der leidenschaftlich auf den Augenblick bezogene Ausdruck unterscheiden diesen Kentauren von dem ebenfalls die menschlichen Züge hervorhebenden herrscherlich-ruhigen Kentaurenkopf der Metope S IV: Rodenwaldt Taf. 20 (nach Gips); Brommer Taf. 176, 2.

22) supra n. 19.

23) Brommer Taf. 178. 179.

24) Daher konnte der Kopf rundplastisch gearbeitet werden; seine Schädelform ist durch den Reliefgrund nicht beeinträchtigt. Auch das verbindet den Knabenkopf mit dem Würzburger Kentauren: Rodenwaldt Taf. 10. - Mit dem weiten Vorragen des Kopfes erklärt sich auch der Meniskos, den man aus dem Loch auf der Schädelmitte erschliessen kann. (supra n. 1) Abb. 4. An der gleichen Stelle hat ein behelmter Metopenkopf ein Loch: Athen, Akropolis Museum 728, Brommer 111; 132 Nr. 35; ders. JdI 75 (1960) 54 Nr. 5 Abb. 40 b. Man kann nicht ausschliessen, dass hier das Loch zur Befestigung eines Helmbusches diente, wie Brommer 111 erwägt, oder genauer zur Anbringung des Helmkammes, auf dem der Busch befestigt wird. Der Helmkamm bei dem Metopenkopf in Athen, Akropolis Museum 3244 ist aber nicht gesondert gearbeitet:

Brommer 142 Nr. 189; ders. JdI 75 (1960) 51 Nr. 24 Abb. 26 a, b.

25) Andere Deutung der Gebärden bei E. Simon, JdI 90 (1975) 102.

26) E. Simon, (supra, n. 25) 102: "Er (der Lapith) war besonders schmal und sicher nicht als junger Mann, sondern als Knabe oder Ephebe gedacht"

27) supra n. 6.

28) Brommer Taf. 156. 160. 161; Rodenwaldt Taf. 11 - 13 (nach Gips).

29) Der Lapithen Kopf bei Rodenwaldt Taf. 13.

30) S XVI: Brommer Taf. 203. 204; supra n. 6. - S XXVII: Brommer Taf. 217 - 220. Foto Hirmer 561.0118.

31) Brommer Taf. 221. Foto Hirmer 561.0119.

32) *Athena Lemnia*: Kopf in Bologna, Museo Civico: G.M. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art*⁷ (London 1974) 121 Abb. 154. - *Anakreon*: Statue in Kopenhagen, NCGI: Richter 128 Abb. 166.

33) E. Buschor, *Der Parthenonfries* (München 1961) 17, schrieb S V und S XXVII dem Phidiasschüler Kolotes zu. - Überlegungen zum Anteil des Phidias nach Plutarch, Perikles 13: W. Schiering, JdI 85 (1970) 82 - 93.



1. Kopf eines Jünglings, J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AA.47.

EIN JÜNGLINGSKOPF IN MALIBU

Der Jünglingskopf¹, eine hervorragende Neuerwerbung des J. Paul Getty Museums in Malibu, ist zweifellos ein gutes griechisches Original aus der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jh. v. Chr. Sehr wahrscheinlich ist er attisch. Er kann durchaus eine tektonische Verwendung gehabt haben. Marmor und Grösse widersprechen den Parthenonmetopen nicht. Es muss also geprüft werden, ob er zu ihnen gehört haben kann.

Da Köpfe anderer Seiten offenbar sämtlich Opfer der Zerstörung wurden und daher nicht erhalten sind, käme bei einer Zuschreibung an den Parthenon nur die

1. Den Kopf zu sehen hatte ich Gelegenheit im Juli 1975 in London und im September 1976 in Malibu. E. Berger verdanke ich einen Abguss, J. Frel sehr gute Fotos und die Einladung, diese Zeilen zu schreiben.



2. Kopf eines Jünglings, J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AA.47.

Südseite in Frage. Da dort ferner alle Kentaurenköpfe bärtig sind, scheiden diese auch aus. Um einen **Frauenkopf kann es sich ebenfalls nicht handeln. So sieht man sehr schnell, dass unter den ursprünglich fast 200 Metopenköpfen des Parthenon nur noch wenige Zuschreibungsmöglichkeiten übrig bleiben.** Die Drehung des Kopfes, die am erhaltenen Halsrest zu erkennen ist, sowie die Tatsache, dass der Kopf frei vom Grund gearbeitet engen diese Möglichkeiten weiter ein.

Es bleiben nur die drei Jünglingsköpfe der Südmetopen III, V und XI übrig. Bis zu diesem Punkt stimme ich mit den Ausführungen von M. Weber voll überein. Sie hat sich für die Südmetope V entschieden. Aber passt der Kopf dort?

Dass die Haarbildung so ganz anders ist, als bei dem dort erhaltenen Kentaurenkopf, wird man nicht als Gegenargument anführen, denn auch auf anderen Südmetopen haben die Kentauren Locken, die Jünglinge aber nicht. Hingegen sollte man bei der starken Anspannung und Dehnung des Körpers einen weiter geöffneten Mund erwarten, so wie dies bei den Jünglingen von S XVI, XXX der Fall ist. Ausserden ist das Auge anders, als beim Kentauren von S V, nämlich schmaler, aber dicker umrandet und tiefer im Inneren liegend. Man kann sich kaum vorstellen, dass derselbe Künstler diesen Jünglingskopf und den Kentaurenkopf von S V gemacht haben soll.

So erhebt sich die Frage, ob der Kopf überhaupt vom Parthenon stammen kann.



3. Kopf eines Jünglings, J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AA.47.

Innerhalb der Parthenonskulpturen sind verschiedene Stilrichtungen und Meisterhände zu beobachten, deren Erforschung erst in ihren Anfängen steckt. Die Variierungsbreite ist gross. Das gilt für die Metopen noch mehr als für den Fries und die Giebel. Trotz aller Verschiedenheit hat sich jedoch ein parthenonischer Stil herausgebildet, der sich von dem Stil gleichzeitiger Werke in Athen, beispielsweise von dem der Skulpturen des Hephaisteion, deutlich abhebt.

Parthenonischer Stil ist erkennbar, wenn man sich eingesehen hat. Man kann Bruchstücke aus stilistischen Gründen zuschreiben und diese Zuschreibungen durch **unmittelbare Anpassung bestätigen**². Aber es ist sehr schwer, die **parthenonische Eigenart in Worte zu**

fassen. Immerhin kennen wir aber nicht weniger als zwei Dutzend Köpfe von den Südmetopen³, die uns diesen Stil veranschaulichen können.

Dass es bei ihnen so grob gepickte Haare wie bei dem Jünglingskopf gegeben habe, kann man bei dem Erhaltungszustand der Metopenköpfe nicht ausschliessen.

2. Beispielsweise das Bein der Amphitrite aus dem Westgiebel (*Hesperia* 24, 1955, 85 ff.).

3. Die 12 Kentaurenköpfe von S I, II, IV, V, VII, IX, XVI, XXVI, XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, die 8 Jünglingsköpfe von S I, IV, VI, VII, IX, XVI, XXX, XXXI, sowie die beiden Jünglingsköpfe und der weibliche Kopf. Verf., Metopen Taf. 211 und schliesslich der von M. Moltesen einleuchtend der Metope S XV zugeschriebene Kopf (AA 1976, 53-58). Dazu kommen Köpfe, deren Zuschreibung fraglich ist.



4-5 Kopf in London, Kunsthandel (cf. Fussnote 8)

Auch dass das Ohr so gar nicht aus der Haarmasse gelöst ist, scheint bei den Parthenonmetopen vorzukommen. Was jedoch unparthenonisch wirkt, das sind die Augen. Es fällt auf, dass sie schmal sind, dass die Lider wenig geschwungen, aber dick und zudem scharf abgesetzt sind, sowie dass der Augapfel tief innerhalb der Lider liegt und zwar der rechte noch tiefer als der linke. Eine solche Art der Augenbehandlung, die diese verschiedenen Züge in sich vereint, ist an den Parthenonmetopen nicht zu finden.

Sie allein würde gegen eine Zuschreibung des Kopfes an den Parthenon sehr bedenklich stimmen. Aber damit nicht genug kommen zu den stilistischen Bedenken noch solche technischer Art hinzu. Einmal ist eine so tadellose Erhaltung der Oberfläche bei keiner Metope zu beobachten. Dann kommen Stachel zur Vogelabwehr bei den Metopen des Parthenon zum

Unterschied von denen aus Olympia nicht vor. Schliesslich hat der Jünglingskopf im Haar über der Stirnmitte eine Eindellung, die ebenfalls auf keiner Parthenonmetope, wohl aber mehrfach auf denen des **Zeustempels von Olympia**⁴ zu sehen sind. Rumpf⁵ hat gemeint, dass dort ein Stirnband mit einer Spitze über der Stirnmitte gesessen hat.

Ein einziges dieser drei technischen Merkmale würde starke Bedenken erregen. Alle drei zusammen mit den stilistischen Bedenken machen trotz ebenbürtiger Qualität eine Zuschreibung des Kopfes an den Parthenon unmöglich⁶.

Vergegenwärtigen wir uns, wie wenige attische Tempel klassischer Zeit wir kennen und wie wenig wir von deren Skulpturenschmuck⁷ wissen, dann ist es in keiner Weise merkwürdig, dass ein so hervorragender Kopf wie dieser auftaucht, ohne dass wir ihn einem bestimmten Bau zuschreiben können⁸.

Frank Brommer
Mainz

4. Ol. III 153 Taf. XLV

5. Rumpf, *Symbola Coloniensia* 80 ff.-Dazu auch A. Krug, *Binden in der griech. Kunst* 34 ff.

6. Von den Archäologen, die den Kopf mit mir in London sahen, hat ihn ebenfalls keiner für parthenonisch gehalten.

7. Für die Giebel wird dies sehr deutlich durch Delivorrias, *Attische Giebelskulpturen*.

8. Dies gilt auch für einen Kopf im Londoner Kunsthandel und für den **Bärtigen der Sammlung Baker** (D.v.Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections*.1961.Nr.108, dort von D.v.Bothmer und E. Harrison den Parthenonmetopen zugeschrieben). Wegen der Patinierung könnte man beim Londoner Kopf an die Giebel von *Union denken* (Abb. 4-5 wird R. Symes verdankt).

A YOUTH FROM THE PARTHENON?

The evident affinity between the youthful head acquired in 1975 by the J. Paul Getty Museum¹ and the Parthenon sculptures suggests a direct connection. The general appearance of the head makes clear that it must have belonged to a high relief, and possibly to a metope. Ernst Berger was the first to state that the head may have belonged to a Parthenon metope and Martha Weber has attempted to demonstrate that it indeed could have belonged to the Lapith of the South Metope V. However, several supplementary observations deserve mention.

The head was restored in antiquity. Even if the surface is covered by a homogenous, light patina which make the modern scratches stand out, it is evident that the original surface was altered in many places. The most striking example is the area of the nose. After the original nose had been broken off, a wedge-shaped vertical cavity was cut into the marble, facilitating the adhesion of a substitute. Here too, the marks of the chisel running horizontally are very evident.² The surface of the hair was flattened in entirety, without respecting the original disposition of the locks; all the "pick marks" on the hair are secondary. These interventions into the hair were particularly severe in the areas over the left temple, above the middle of the forehead, and at the nape. Even if the youth never had long sideburns, the hair was completely trimmed on **both sides here, and an improbable rounded curve was scratched in on the left side.** Both ears had the lobes remodelled and the helix flattened; the right one especially suffered, with half the lobe cut away and a

groove cut in above the ear. The hole drilled into the crown of the skull is also secondary, made probably for the insertion of one end of a metallic clamp, to hold the head in place. The eyes and the eyelids were considerably retouched as well. The right eyeball particularly was clumsily flattened with the consequence that the lacrymal gland still evident in the left eye has practically disappeared in the right.

The later repair of this head done by an incompetent craftsman is a fate shared by many other ancient sculptures, and to a great extent by the marbles of the Parthenon including the heads of Lapiths of the South Metopes³.

Further observations concern the main viewpoint of the head. Following Martha Weber, it was turned to the right, with his left cheek and eye revealing more than the other half. However, it is the right sternomastoid that is tensed and protruding with the left half of the face narrowed but the left cheekbone still higher than **the other side. Further, viewed from above, the asymmetry of the occiput also reveals that the most protruding hemisphere of the skull, his left, was the one close to the background.** From these considerations it can be seen that the head was turned to the left with the right face more fully in view. This excludes the identification of our head with the South Metope No. V.

The style of the head is indeed close to the Phidian Parthenon and especially to the metopes. But even if the preserved heads from the South Metopes show a wide range of stylistic variety, corresponding to the different hands, they are much closer, one to the other, than to



1. Recutting of the hair around the right eye including the sideburn



2. Recutting of the hair



3. Protrusion of the head towards the background at the left back



4. Restoration of the nose and recutting of the left sideburn



5. Recutting of the nape



6. Recutting of the left ear (from a plaster cast)

the Getty head. This is true even for the youthful head of Metope XVI and for the centaur of Metope V, both used for comparison by Martha Weber. Yet, as she rightly states, they share several details with the Malibu head. On the centaur, for example, the deep carving around the outer corner and under the eye fold is similar, and the tiny wrinkle doubling the upper eyelid is matched by the formation of the centaur's eye, though on him the tiny wrinkle is found on the inner corner instead of the outer.

But the differences are stronger. Even if there is a great variety in the dimensions among the extant metope heads, the Malibu head is smaller, and smaller

not only in dimensions. The greater softness, the *leptotes*, brings in mind the Acropolis head of a youth No. 699, compared by Martha Weber⁴, though the expression of the Malibu head corresponds rather to the faces of the combatants, as she states.

Thus, while Dr. Weber has convincingly established the stylistic affinity of the Malibu head with the Parthenon sculptures, its placement on the South Metopes does not seem definite. The poorly preserved North side, originally in a more advanced style, may provide a better possibility, but without any categorical conclusion implied⁵.

Jiří Frel
Malibu

1. 75.AA.47; listed in *Recent Acquisitions of Antiquities, The J. Paul Getty Museum, June 1st - September 3, 1976*, no. 1: "Marble head, probably from a Parthenon metope (identified as such by Prof. Ernst Berger), about 440 B.C. Possibly the head of a young warrior from a lost North metope."

2. Here are some noses repaired in Antiquity in a comparable way: A/ clear cut in one surface, without metallic pin; 1) head of a youth, Athens, the Ceramicus 758, Frel AAA 5 (1972) 74, 76, figs. 3-4. A.Delivorias, *Attische Giebelskulpturen und Akroterien des 5. Jahrhunderts* (1974) 164 sqq., pls. 56 b-d, 57; 2) veiled female head, Rhodes, G.Konstantinopoulos-S.Meletzis-H.Papadakis, *Rhodes* (4th ed., 1972) fig. 24; 3) head of Ptolemy IV, Paris, Louvre, H.Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemaer* (1975), 46 sqq., 171 nr. D 3, pls. 34-35 (the cut off nose and chin would be modern restoration, but the surface is ancient; there is a clear cut in the marble and the surface of the head was repolished in Antiquity, thus an ancient restoration seems to be a preferable explanation than a pentimento); B/ cut is less regular, comparable to the Getty head: portrait of a young African, Boston MFA, M.B.Comstock-C.C.Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone* (1976) nr.339 (the modern restoration has been removed after the publication of the catalogue); C/ cut is irregular, with an iron pin - 1) head of

Socrates, Boston MFA, Comstock-Vermeule nr.120; head of an Athenian strategos ("Alcibiades", New York MMA, G.Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture* (1954) nr.104.

3. The best example is the head of the Lapith from the South metope XXX, where the original height of the hair is cut down and the fist of the centaur, without any direct touch with the skull of his opponent, is "supported" by a pseudo puntello- F.Brommer, *Die Metopen des Parthenon* (1967) pls.229,230.

4. See above, p. 7, fig. 6. The hair of this head was also completely recut in Antiquity. The volume was reduced and the curls were suppressed.

5. For a new head from the Parthenon, discovered in Copenhagen, see M.Moltensen, AA 1976 53 sqq. E. LaRocca found still another in the storeroom of the Capitoline Museum. Finally, there is a bearded head in the storeroom of the National Museum of Athens, carved in Parian marble, which in style and technique is very close to the centaur's head from the IX metope and to the head associated with the Lapith from the same metope (Brommer pls. 195-196); a substitute for a head, lost already in the 5th century, soon after the sculptures were finished?

EIN GROßGRIECHISCHER AKROLITH IM J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

Skulpturen des V.Jhs. v.Chr. aus den westgriechischen Kolonien sind uns nicht eben zahlreich überliefert. Der in Fig. 1-4 abgebildete Marmorkopf im J. Paul Getty Museum bietet daher eine erfreuliche Bereicherung unserer Kenntnisse. Er stammt angeblich aus Metapont¹. Nur Gesicht und Hals sind erhalten, wahrscheinlich als die einzigen Marmorbestandteile einer Figur, deren übrige Teile aus anderen Materialien bestanden. Solche akrolithe Technik wurde wegen der Knappheit des Marmors in den westlichen Kolonien fast regelmäßig für großplastische Werke angewandt. Die Buntheit der Accessoires aus verschiedenen Materialien entsprach wohl auch westgriechischem Geschmack. Die Stirn und Gesicht unsymmetrisch einrahmenden Löcher dienten offenbar zur Befestigung bronzener Haare, einer Bronzeperrücke oder eines größeren Kopfputzes². Viereckige Löcher für Holzdübel oben und unten markieren die Ansatzstellen des Kopfes in den Körper. Die Anschlußflächen am Hals sind nur rauh bearbeitet, ohne die feine Glättung, die zum Anstücken von Marmor notwendig wäre; die groben 'Inkrustationen' der linken Seite scheinen Stuck zu sein.

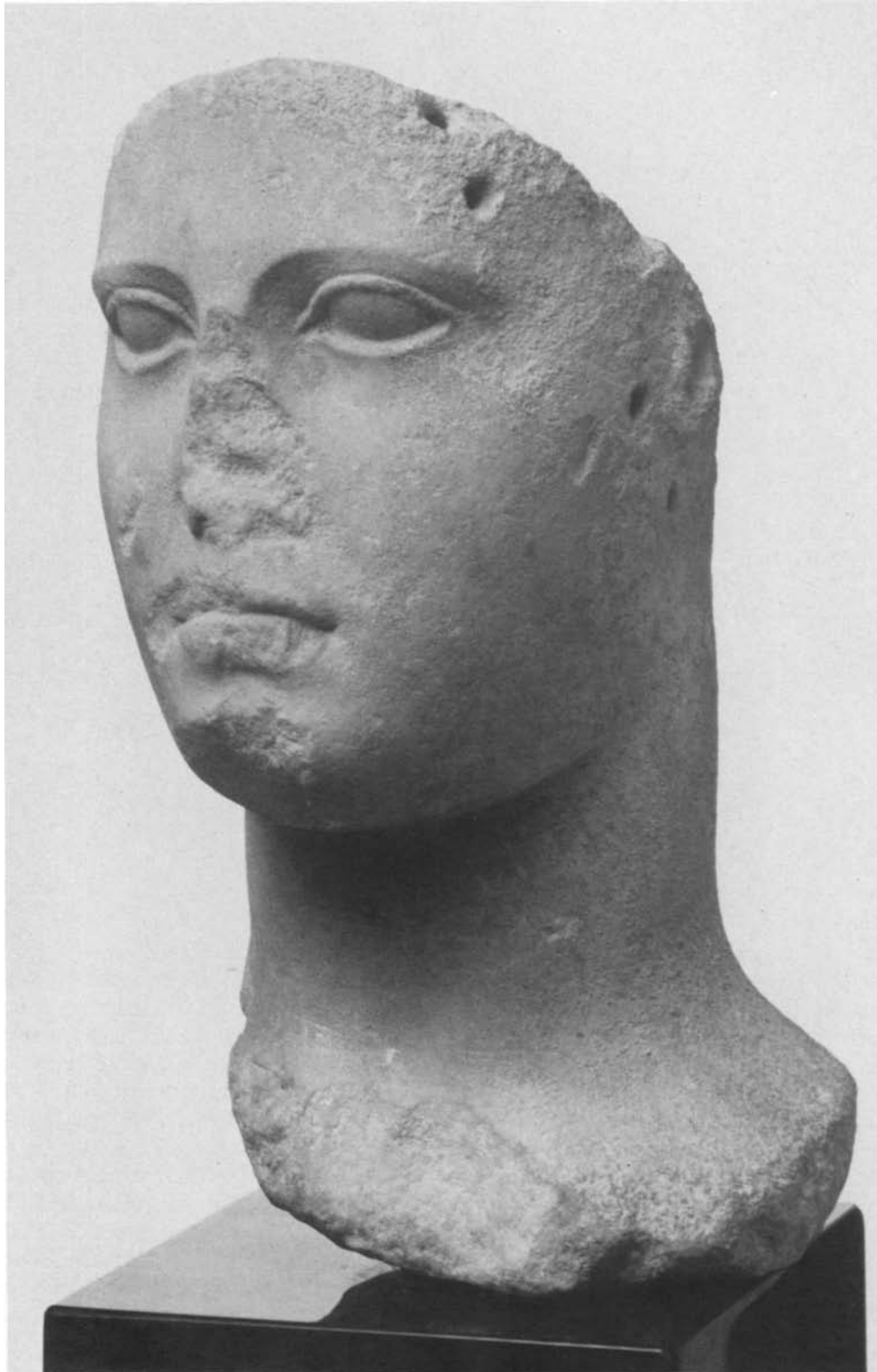
Anhand der beträchtlichen Asymmetrien des Kopfes läßt sich die ursprünglich konzipierte Hauptansicht rekonstruieren. Der kürzer geschnittene rechte Halskontur sowie der stärker angespannte linke Halsmuskel lassen auf eine gehobene rechte Schulter schließen. - Die Achse durch Stirn - Nase - Kinn fällt nicht in die Achse des Halses. Die ganze rechte Gesichtshälfte hängt um ein Geringes tiefer, und da sie schmaler ist als die linke, wirkt sie voller oder kompakter; dadurch wölbt sich das kleinere rechte Auge stärker, sein Oberlid krümmt sich etwas steiler. Das schwerere Polster des Orbitals läßt den Blick des rechten Auges etwas passiver wirken; sein innerer Augenwinkel verläuft steiler und ohne den entenschnabelförmigen

1. Mein verbindlicher Dank für detaillierte Informationen und Anregungen gilt Prof. Dr. Jifi Frel¹.

Parischer Marmor. H:23,3 cm. (inv. no. 74AA33)

Bruch: rechte Flanke, Nase, rechte Schulter, unterer Rand des Halses bestoßen: Mund, rechte Wange, rechtes Oberlid, Kinn, linkes Ohr. Publ.: Ant.Kunst 3, Heft 1, 1960, 48, Tf. 16.

Schefold, Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, Basel 1960, 79, Tf. VII 29



1. Grossgriechischer Akrolith. J. Paul Getty Museum

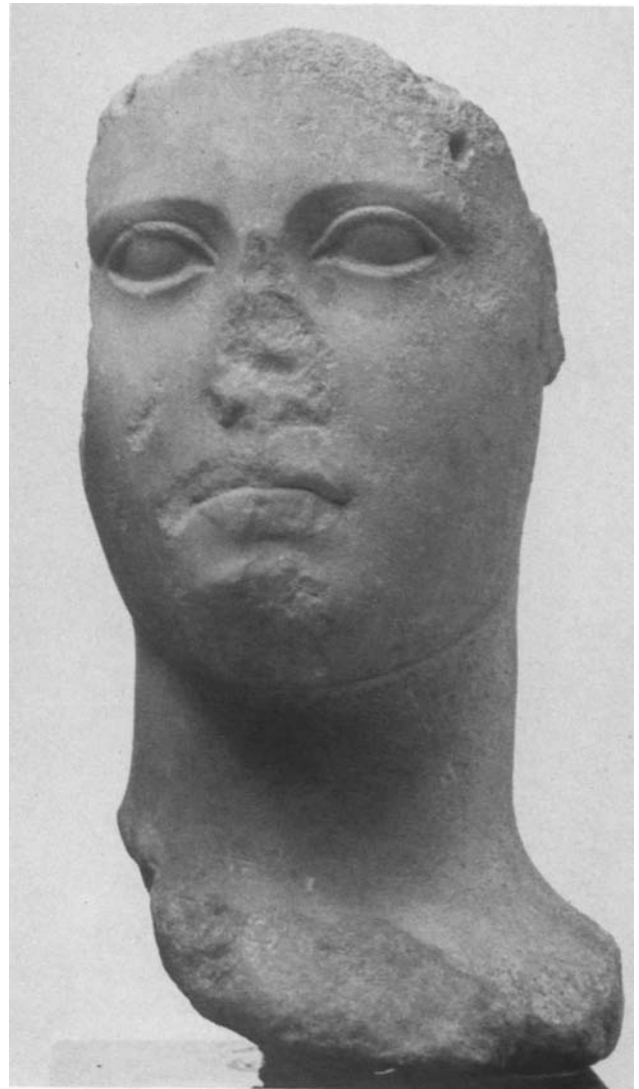
Knick des linken Tränenkarunkels. - Die linke Mundhälfte scheint kräftiger geschwungen. - Offenbar ist der Kopf demnach auf eine 3/4 Ansicht von links konzipiert; (Fig. 1) darauf verweist ebenfalls der unsymmetrische Verlauf der feingeritzten Venusringe, die rings um die linke Halsseite, jedoch nur bis zu 2/3 der rechten Seite durchlaufen.

Der Kontur der Nackenlinie fällt nicht senkrecht, sondern läuft leicht konkav zum Rücken aus. Der Kopf war wohl nicht steil aufgerichtet, sondern etwas nach vorn geneigt. Auch der schräge Profilwinkel der Augäpfel läßt sich am ehesten mit einer Neigung des Kopfes und einer Hauptansicht von unten erklären, in ähnlicher Weise wie bei der alten Hera von Olympia u.a. Götterbildern³.

Aus all dem ergibt sich dann eine leichte Wendung des Kopfes zu seiner rechten - gehobenen - Schulter und eine geringe Neigung nach vorn abwärts. In dieser Ansicht verlieren sich auch jene Verzerrungen und gewissen Härten, die ihn in der reinen Frontansicht (Fig. 2) etwas verunstalten.

Solche Neigung hätte allerdings eine Schrägung der Auflagefläche zur Folge. Und mit dieser eigentümlich labilen Aufstellung befindet sich unser metapontiner Kopf in guter Gesellschaft der meisten großgriechischen Akrolithe, die denn auch infolgedessen häufig falsch, d.h. nach hinten gekippt montiert wurden⁴. Schon Langlotz waren diese charakteristisch schiefe Unterseite westgriechischer Akrolithe sowie deren fehlende Verdübelung unverständlich⁵. Die eckigen Dübellöcher an Ober- und Unterseite des metapontiner Kopfes scheinen demnach - sofern sie ursprünglich, nicht später zugefügt sind - sogar eine Ausnahme zu sein.

Stilistisch verrät unser Kopf - bei aller Eigenwilligkeit - seine unteritalische Herkunft, bestätigt und modifiziert bereits bekannte Eigenarten westgriechischer Skulptur. - Die Kenntnis seiner Provenienz - Metapont - stellt ihn in die Tradition der durch die Forschungen der letzten 10 Jahre besser bekannten Kunst dieser achäischen Kolonie⁶. Anhand der zahllosen Figuren der Kleinplastik und der bereicherten Anzahl großplastischer Werke beginnen sich formale Tendenzen abzuzeichnen, die auf eine lokale Schule zumindest der Koroplastik hindeuten. Inwieweit die westlichen Kolonien in der Steinskulptur ihren jeweils eigenen Stil entwickelten, ist trotz vieler Neufunde immer noch fraglich. Allgemein zwang die Kostbarkeit des Marmors meistens zur Dekoration in Ton, so daß die Steinbildhauer entweder 'Wanderkünstler' sein mußten



2. Grossgriechischer Akrolith. J. Paul Getty Museum

4. Falsch aufgestellt: Akrolith Ludovisi (Langlotz, Westgriechen, Tf. 63) Akrolith Cirò (Langlotz, Westgriechen, Tf. 19, richtig bei v. Matt, Großgriechenland, Tf. 160)

Akrolith Vatikan (Langlotz, Westgriechen, Tf. 86, 87)

Akrolith Metapont. (richtig bei Schefold, Meisterwerke, Tf. VII 293)

Richtig: Kopf Hannover

Metopen Selinunt

Athena-Kopf Tarent (Langlotz, Westgriechen, Tf. 99)

5. Langlotz, Die Kunst der Westgriechen, 71, 76 u.a.

6. Den verstärkten Grabungsaktivitäten um Metapont, besonders dank der Initiative des zuständigen Soprintendente Prof. D. Adamesteanu, verdanken wir eine Fülle neuer Kenntnisse über Topographie, Stadtanlage, Aufteilung des Hinterlandes, der Kulte und Tempelbauten sowie der kunsthandwerklichen Hinterlassenschaft. So führte u.a. die Aufdeckung eines Töpferviertels zum Fund einer Werkstatt des Kreusa-Malers.

vgl. D. Adamesteanu, La Basilicata antica, De Mauro Editore, 1974

D. Adamesteanu, Metaponto, Napoli 1973

Atti Convegno Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1973

2. ähnlich Apollon von Cirò: von Matt/Zanotti-Bianco, Großgriechenland, Zürich 1961, Tf. 160-162. Apollon v. Sosianus-Tempel, Rom: Langlotz, Die Kunst der Westgriechen, München 1963, Tf. 117

3. G. Richter, Korai, London 1968, Figs. 118-121



3. Grossgriechischer Akrolith. J. Paul Getty Museum



- folglich ihre Spuren vielerorts hinterließen - oder aber möglicherweise Elemente der Bronze - und Terrakotta-plastik auf dies Material übertugen. - So gehört unser metapontiner Kopf einerseits in die Umgebung der bekannten großgriechischen Akrolithe, läßt andererseits mit keinem von ihnen einen unmittelbaren Werkstattzusammenhang erkennen.

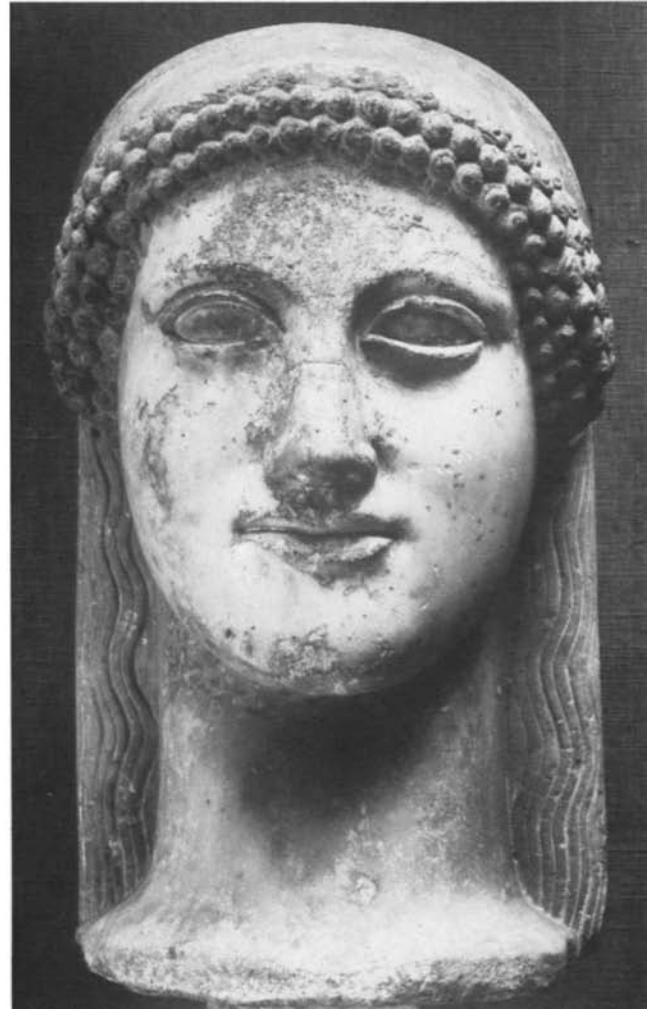
Die zu steile Aufstellung und starke Unteransicht lassen ihn auch unnötig herb und verzerrt, seine Altertümlichkeiten provinziell erscheinen. Erst in der beschriebenen Hauptansicht zeigt unser Akrolith seine Reife und Eigenart.

Recht eigenwillig wirkt seine langgestreckte, fast zylindrisch gerundete Grundform. Die Schwere der Wangenpartie läßt das Gewicht trotz der hohen Stirn und großen Augen etwas müde nach unten rutschen. Diese Proportionierung mag ein nachgeschlepptes Element des Strengen Stils sein, bildet aber auch eine

strukturelle Eigenart metapontiner Koroplastik. Zu dieser Grundanlage gehört auch die sehr flächige Modellierung des Gesichts. Die fast geschnittene Akzentuierung der Details - besonders in der Augen-Stirn-Partie - verleiht den Formen eine trockene Klarheit. **Dem Überwiegen graphisch-linearer Werte im oberen Teil** wirkt die Schwere des Volumens der unteren Gesichtshälfte entgegen. Die linearen Elemente sind recht unvermittelt mit plastischen Formelementen kombiniert, - die schnitzartige Augen, eine weich plastische Mundpartie, scharf geritzte Venusringe am Halse. Die straff gespannte Oberfläche scheint als wesentlicher Faktor im Kräftespiel von Masse und Gerüst mitzurwirken und einen gewissen Ausgleich divergierender Kräfte zu bilden. Einige strukturelle Härten oder auch Widersprüchlichkeiten sind nicht unbedingt als metapontiner Eigenart, sondern eher als allgemein großgriechisch zu verstehen.



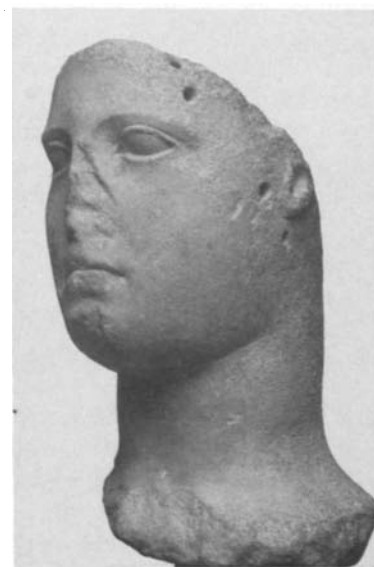
5. Thronende Göttin. Berlin.



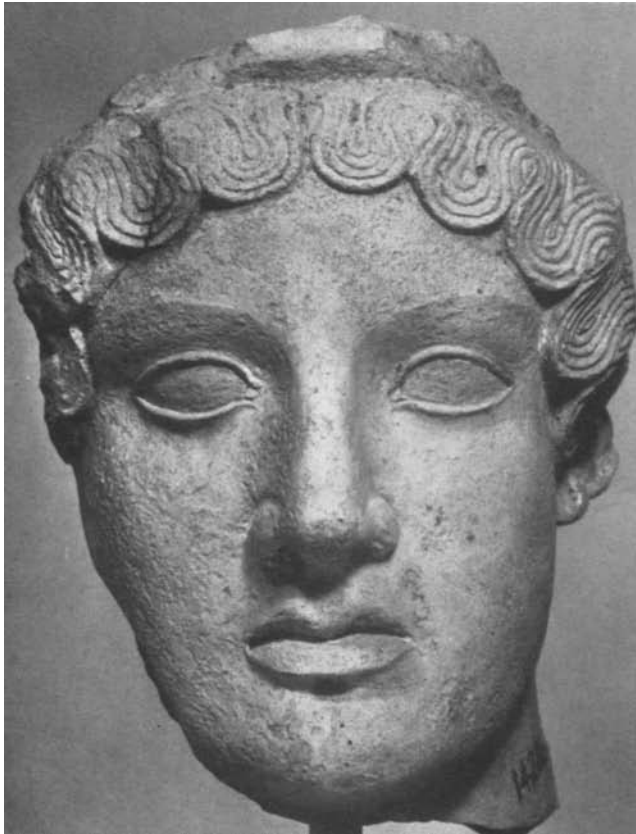
6. Akrolith Ludovisi. Terme. Foto Hirmer

K. Schefold bezeichnete diesen Kopf als 'die jüngere Schwester der thronenden Göttin von Tarent'⁷ (Fig. 5). Ihre Verwandtschaft scheint mir nicht so eng, wie es die geographische Nähe beider Städte verlangen könnte. Neben Unterschieden der Proportionen, dem andersartigen Schnitt der Augen und besonders des Mundes liegt der Formulierung des tarentiner Kopfes offenbar eine andere - stärker plastische - Auffassung zugrunde. Die harten Zäsuren der abrupt aneinander-gesetzten Einzelformen mögen seiner früheren Entwicklungsstufe zuzuschreiben sein; das drastische Gegeneinander der Kräfte von Gerüst und weichem Karnat sind von der ausbalancierten Spannung des Metapontiners zwischen straffer Oberfläche, knappen Details und sanften, fast flachen Übergängen der Einzelformen recht verschieden.

7. Ant.Kunst 3,1,1960,48; Blümel, Katal.Berliner Museen, 1969, Nr.21, Abb.57.



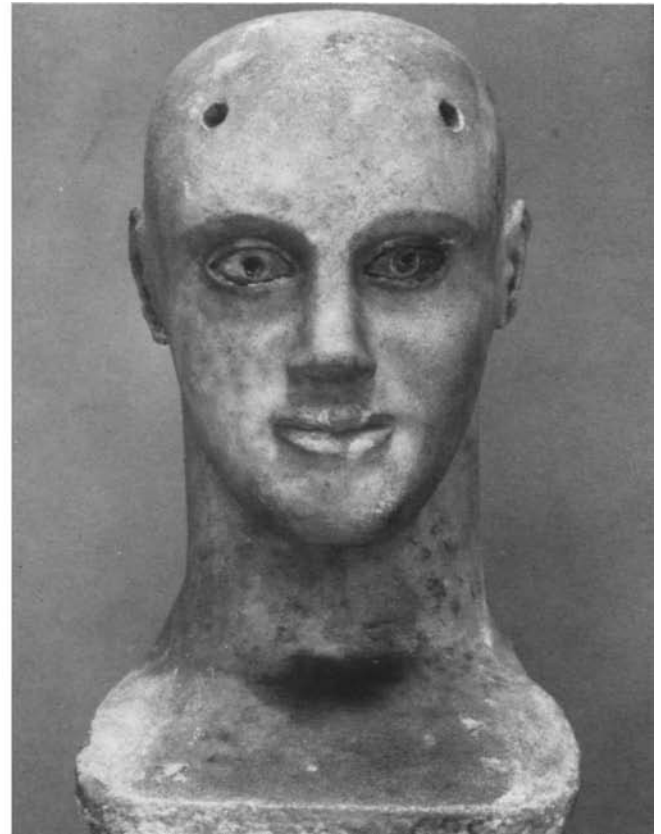
4. Grossgriechischer Akrolith. J. Paul Getty Museum



7. Terrakottakopf. Syrakus.

Die Großflächigkeit der Formen sowie eine ähnliche Proportionierung verbinden unseren Kopf - nichtachtend des Größen- und Zeitunterschieds - mit dem Akrolith Ludovisi⁸ (Fig. 6). Auch dieser leidet unter den Verzerrungen seiner zu steilen Aufstellung. Auch ihn charakterisieren die geringe Tektonik, spezifische Antinomien zwischen voluminösen und linearen Formelementen, das weiche Quellen des Karnats, die straff gespannte Oberfläche und die kleinteilig graphischen Akzentuierungen. Ähnliche Strukturen zeigt ein Terrakotta-Kopf in Siracusa^{9a} (Fig. 7), der dem Metapontiner auch zeitlich schon näher steht. Die dank dem flexiblen Material zarte Belebung der Formen, die ähnlich sensible Mundpartie wirken weicher und weniger trocken.

Der kolossale Akrolith im Vatikan⁹ (Fig. 8) ist trotz seiner zeitlichen Nähe viel altertümlicher als unser metapontiner Kopf. Trotz des deutlich spürbaren inneren Gerüsts und des spitzdreieckigen Untergesichts bleiben seine Einzelformen flächig, das Karnat weich und schlaff. Die Dynamik des jüngeren und kleineren Kopfes geht dem großen Akrolith völlig ab. Dieser erscheint - bei aller Qualität - recht hieratisch altertümlich und müde neben dem sensibel belebten hochklassischen Nachfolger.



8. Akrolith Vatikan

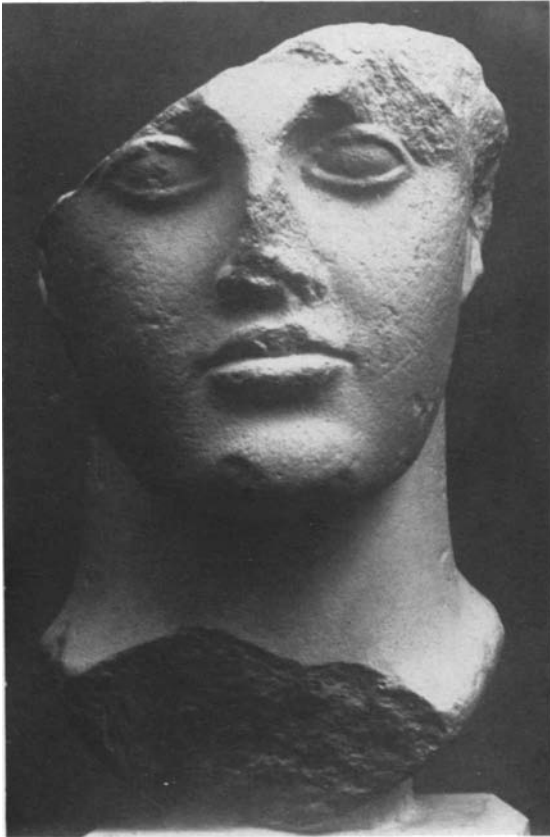
Viel näher steht unserem metapontiner Werk ein Kopf in Hannover (Fig. 9a,b), der - wenn auch nicht notwendig derselben Werkstatt entstammend, wie Amelung annahm¹⁰ - mit den Metopenköpfen des Tempels E von Selinunt eine stilistische Gruppe bildet. Seine Verwandtschaft zum Metapont-Akrolith zeigt sich besonders in ihrer jeweiligen Hauptansicht, 3/4 von links. Ihnen gemeinsam sind die großflächig straffe Bildung des Gesichts, die schnitzartige Akzentuierung der Detailformen, die zarten Übergänge. Die Proportionen des metapontiner Kopfes sind noch etwas gestreckter, sein Untergesicht hängt voller und schwerer. Die Klarheit der deutlich abgegrenzten Einzelformen und die Dynamik des Wechselspiels von Gerüst und Masse lassen den Hannover-Kopf fast durchsichtiger und besser ausbalanciert erscheinen, verraten zugleich auch sein etwas früheres Entstehungsdatum. Die sensible Form des Mundes mit seinen zart

8. Thermenmuseum, Rom. E. Paribeni, *Catal.delle Sculture del Museo delle Terme*, No.1; Helbig, *Führer III*, Nr. 2342; Langlotz, *Westgriechen*, Tf. 62,63

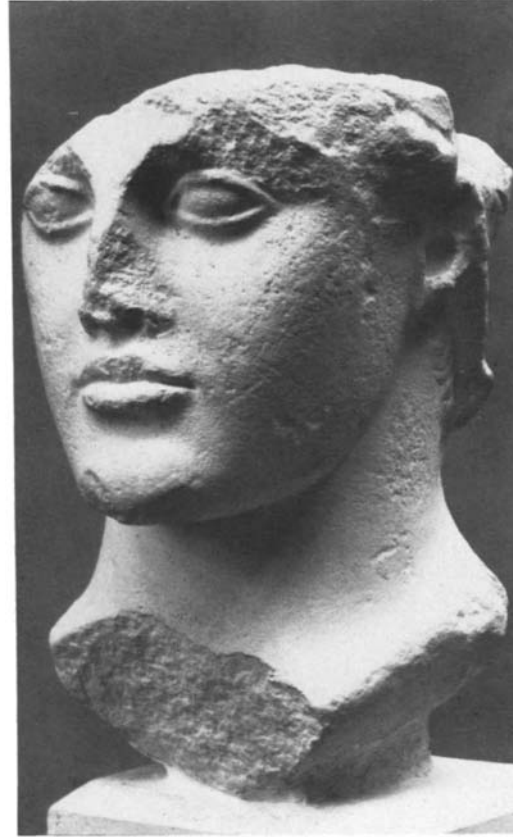
8a. Langlotz, *Westgriechen*, Nr. 41

9. Helbig, *Führer I*, Nr.400; Langlotz, *Westgriechen*, Tf. 86, 87; Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, 1927, Tf. 92.

10. JdI 35.1920,50,Tf.4; RM 65,1958,2ff.



9.ab Kopf Hannover. Foto DAIR



verwischenden Übergängen sowie die metallisch knappe Formulierung der Augen demonstrieren die fortgeschrittene Entwicklungsstufe des Metapontiners. Die übergroßen Tränenkarunkel, die dem hannoverschen Auge fehlen, sind sicher kein selinuntiner Charakteristikum, wenn auch an den Selinunt-Köpfen gelegentlich stark betont¹¹. Trotz enger Verwandtschaft unterscheiden sich unsere beiden Köpfe Hannover und Metapont geringfügig in der Proportionierung, im differenziertes Spannungssystem von Masse und Gerüst sowie plastischen und graphischen Formulierungen. Der metapontiner Kopf dürfte etwa 10 bis 20 Jahre jünger sein als der hannoversche.

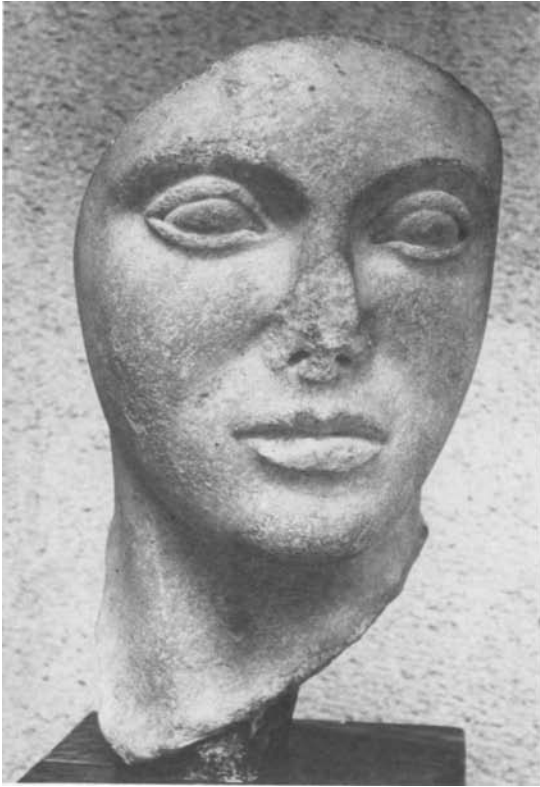
Ein ähnlicher Zeitabstand besteht zu den ebenfalls eng verwandten beiden akrolithen Metopenköpfen des Tempels E von Selinunt¹² (Fig. 10a,b, 11). Läßt man die leichte Entwicklungsdifferenz der beiden untereinander einmal außer acht, so besitzen sie trotz dieser Verwandtschaften mit dem Metapontiner - wie der ähnlichen Proportionierung von Stirn und Wangenpartie, den flächigen Einzelformen, der weichen Rundung des Untergesichts - doch eine wesentlich andere Grundstruktur. Sie sind von innen heraus plastisch aufgebaut; ihre Lebendigkeit beruht auf der bekannten Dynamik zwischen Gerüst und Masse, die noch

unmittelbar aneinandergesetzten Einzelformen schaffen eine vergleichsweise derb bewegte Oberfläche. Daneben erscheint der Metapont-Akrolith wiederum metallisch glatt und zylindrisch konzipiert; seine Bewegtheit scheint mit graphischen Mitteln von außen aufgetragen; seine Dynamik wirkt in den Spannungen der zarten Oberflächenbewegungen, der scharfen Akzente und der schweren Grundform. Beide selinuntiner Köpfe dürften dem metapontiner zeitlich vorangehen, wobei der Kopf Fig. 10a,b mit der noch altertümlichen Bildung des Auges und des Mundes sich als der ältere erweist. Die Datierung wird zwangsläufig durch das entwicklungsmäßig jüngste Formelement bestimmt, welches in unserem Falle wohl in der zart formulierten Mundpartie zu sehen ist. Dieses Detail ist am Metapontiner reifer als an allen anderen bisher betrachteten Köpfen und verrät die hochklassische Entwicklungsstufe. Eine Datierung des Akroliths von Metapont kurz nach den Selinunt-Metopen, um 450-440 v.Chr. scheint daher gerechtfertigt.

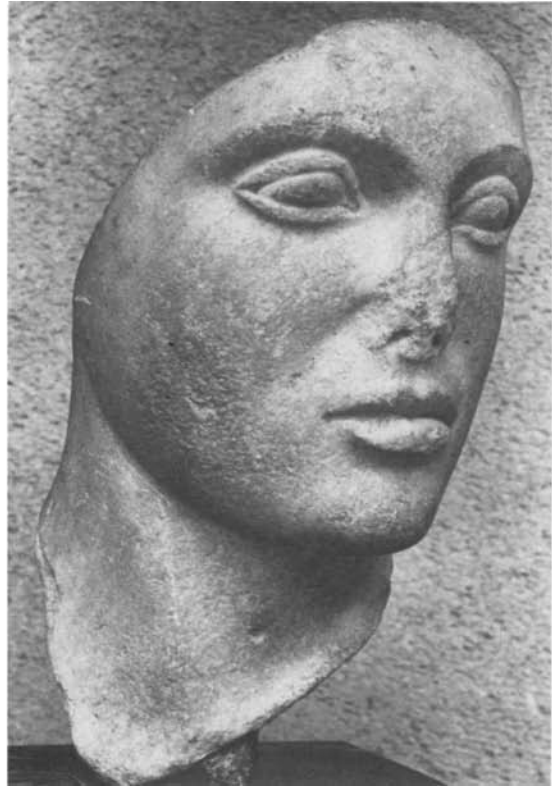
Eine ähnliche - noch gesteigerte - Sensibilisierung der

11. vgl. Fuchs, in: RM 1956, 194; Langlotz, Westgriechen, S.83, Nr.113.

12. Palermo, Museo nazionale. RM 1956, 102ff; Langlotz, Tf. 109-111.



10ab Kopf von Selinunt. Palermo. Foto DAIR



11. Kopf von Selinunt. Palermo. Foto DAIR

Mundpartie zeigt ein Athena - Kopf in Tarent¹³ (Fig. 12), jüngerer Nachfolger des Metapont-Kopfes und in den Grundproportionen ihm verwandt. Er hat dem Metapontiner die reichen Kontrastwirkungen voraus, die Vielfalt der nuancenreichen Übergänge, die individuelle Zartheit um Augen und Mund.

Der Kopf des bogenschießenden Apollon im Konservatorenpalast in Rom¹⁴ (Fig. 13) ist als jüngerer Verwandter - wegen seiner starken Überarbeitung in römischer Zeit - wohl nur mittelbar zu vergleichen. Ähnlich sind die Proportionen in Stirn-Wangenfläche und Untergesicht, ähnlich auch die scharfgeschnittenen Lider sowie die Höhe des Orbitals.

Dieselbe Zurückhaltung ist auch der Beurteilung des Akroliths von S. Omobono in Rom¹⁵ geboten; auch er - wohl einst Teil eines großgriechischen Kultbilds - erfuhr kräftige römische Nachbearbeitung, die vor allem das Untergesicht entstellten. Seine Verwandtschaft zu anderen unteritalischen Ähnlichkeiten zum metapontiner Kopf sind in der Proportionierung sowie in der Stirn-Augen-Partie erkennbar.

13. Tarent, Museo nazionale. Langlotz, Westgriechen, Tf. 98,99.

14. Rom, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Helbig, Führer III, Nr. 1642; Langlotz, Westgriechen, Tf. 117.

15. Mingazzini, in: AA 1950/51, 200, Abb.27

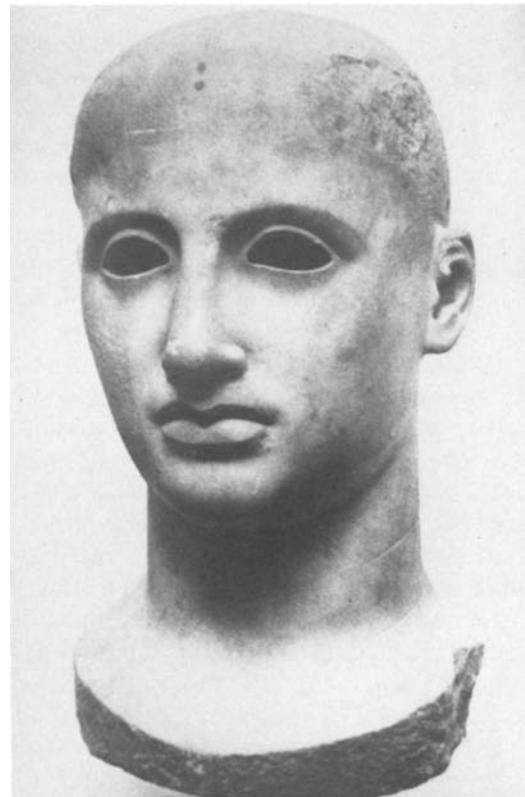


13. Apollo Sosianus. Konservatorenpalast



12. Athena-kopf. Tarent

Der Akrolith von Cirò, Kultbild des Apollon Alaios, sei das letzte Exemplar aus der Gruppe westgriechischer Akrolithe um unseren metapontiner Kopf (Fig. 14). Die Drastik, mit welcher dieser seine unteritalischen, gewissermaßen 'ungriechischen' Struktureigenarten demonstriert, haben ihm ungerechtfertigte Zweifel an seiner Echtheit und Datierung eingebracht¹⁶. Verschiedene auch am metapontiner Kopf erkennbare Strukturen erscheinen im Akrolith von Cirò übersteigert, fast degeneriert: die ähnlichen Proportionen, die flächige Komposition der Einzelformen, der ähnlich harte Schnitt der Augen und des zarten Orbitals. Die ähnlichen Asymmetrien des Gesichts sowie unsymmetrisch geritzte Venusringe lassen eine ähnliche Wendung des Kopfes folgern. Auch dieser Akrolith leidet wegen seiner schrägen Unterseite an einer zu steilen Aufstellung. Neben dem älteren und kleineren metapontiner Werk, dessen divergierende formale Kräfte noch im (labilen) Gleichgewicht scheinen, fällt der Cirò Akrolith einigermassen ab. Kein straffer Kontur bändigt die schwammige Weichheit des Kar-



14. Apollon Alaios. Reggio di Calabria

16. B.S.Ridgeway, *The Severe Style*, 1970, 122; Schuchhardt, in: AA 66, 1962, 317ff; aber: Langlotz, *Westgriechen*, Nr. 118f; Francis, in: RM 1956, 96ff; Fuchs, in: RM 1958, 4ff.



15ab Marmorkopf. Metapont



nats; die linearen Betonungen einiger Detailformen erreichen kaum eine Belebung der spannungslosen Oberfläche. Der Kopf wirkt vergleichsweise leer, enthüllt die Labilität und geringe Energie großgriechischer Plastizität.

In der Gruppe landschaftlich verwandter Akrolithe entwickelte unser metapontiner Kopf seine Qualität und Originalität. Allgemein westgriechisch sind Struktureigenarten wie geringe Tektonik, Flächigkeit der Einzelformen, Nachschleppen altertümlicher Formelemente, Divergieren der Kräfte, Antinomien zwischen linearen und plastischen Werten. Hinzu kommen offenbar gelegentliche Schwierigkeiten italiotischer Bildhauer, dem wenig gewohnten Material des Marmors gerecht zu werden. Manche Charakteristika mögen einfach aus der Übertragung von Formelementen der häufiger geübten Bronzetechnik oder Koroplastik auf die Steintechnik resultieren; eine Eigenart, die E. Paribeni treffend mit 'carattere . . . di terracotta glorificata' bezeichnete¹⁷. So ist den metapontiner Werken seit archaischer Zeit durchweg eine metallische Flächigkeit und Trockenheit eigen, ein Überwiegen graphisch-linearer Akzentuierung der Einzelformen¹⁸. Ein unlängst in Metapont gefundener Marmorkopf¹⁹ (Fig. 15a,b) des Strengen Stils setzt diese Eigenart auch

im V.Jh. fort; seine zarte graphische Oberflächenmodellierung stellt ihn in auffällige Nähe zu der Figuren des Ludovisischen Throns (Fig. 16). Wo auch immer man dessen Entstehung lokalisieren mag, anhand der Neufunde von Skulpturen des V.Jhs. in Unteritalien dürfte seine neuerliche vergleichende Strukturanalyse nützlich sein.

Um bei unserem metapontiner Kopf zu bleiben:neben seinen 'metallischen' Eigenarten findet auch seine seltsame Proportionierung ihre Tradition in der metapontiner Koroplastik des VI. und V.Jhs.; seine fast zylindrische Grundform (Fig. 2;3) mit dem schwer hängenden Untergesicht. Diese Form ist in unserem Falle also entweder als nachgeschlepptes Element des Strengen Stils zu werten, oder als metapontiner Charakteristikum.

2 Proportions-Schemata sind in der metapontiner Plastik kontinuierlich zu verfolgen. Eines zeigt relativ kurze Köpfe mit flach gerundetem Oberkopf und knappem dreieckigen Untergesicht. Das andere Grund-

17. Paribeni, in: Atti Memorie Società Magna Grecia 1954,67.

18. Über metapontiner Kleinkunst archaischer Zeit siehe meine demnächst erscheinende Diss. 'Archaische Terrakotta-Figuren von S. Biagio bei Metapont Vgl. Adamesteanu, *La Basilicata antica*, 58f.

19. Adamesteanu, Metaponto, 1973, Fig. 25.



16. Aphrodite. Thron Ludovisi

schema bildet langgestreckt zylindrische Köpfe mit hoher Stirn, hoch gewölbtem Oberkopf und langem schweren, gelegentlich auch spitzen Untergesicht. Beide Grundformen erscheinen etwa gleich häufig, beide sind außerordentlich langlebig.

Ob diese strukturellen Eigenarten nun aber zur Definition eines lokalen metapontiner Stils ausreichen, ist schwer zu entscheiden. Trotz gewisser Eigenwilligkeit und Originalität scheint mir auch diese Werkstatt eher eklektisch zu arbeiten.

Offenbar gab es in der großgriechischen Skulptur 2 divergierende strukturelle Tendenzen:

- In der einen überwiegen die plastischen Werte des Volumens sowie malerische Werte der fließenden Formen. Als Gegenkraft wirkt oft nur schwach - das innere Gerüst. Solche Werke scheinen oft extrem schwer und üppig, gelegentlich geradezu lasziv oder auch leidenschaftlich bewegt. Beispiele finden sich in Werken aus Locri, Medma, im Akrolith Cirò, im Vatikan-Akrolith.

- Die andere Tendenz präsentiert flächige Grundformen, eine präzise, fast selbständige Formulierung der Linearität, d.h. eine Herrschaft der graphischen Werte, die man als geradezu italisch bezeichnen könnte. Eine straffe Oberfläche und ein meist knapper Kontur

verleihen solchen Werken ihre Trockenheit. Als Beispiele seien der Ludovisische Thron, der Jünglingskopf Hannover, der Akrolith Metapont genannt.

Diese beiden Tendenzen erreichen nur selten Ausgleich und Balance; die meisten großgriechischen **Werke sind gerade durch Unausgewogenheit der Kräfte, Unsicherheiten der Formen gekennzeichnet.** Auch an unserem metapontiner Kopf ist eine gewisse Antinomie der Kräfte zwischen oberem und unteren Teil des Gesichts nicht zu übersehen. Besser ausbalanciert scheint da der Kopf aus Hannover.

Das Gleichgewicht der Kräfte besaß möglicherweise für westgriechische Künstler gar nicht einmal den hohen Wert, den es in der Kunst des Mutterlandes bedeutete.

Die Beobachtung einer relativen Selbständigkeit metapontiner Skulptur von tarentiner Werken des V.Jhs. scheint von gewisser historischer Bedeutsamkeit. Nach den Iapygerkriegen von 471 drängte Tarent heftig nach Westen²⁰, gründete 433/2 auf dem Terrain des alten Siris seine Pflanzstadt Herakleia. In dieser Zeit muß Metapont mehr oder weniger abhängig von

20. Hdt. VII 20,3; Diod. XI 52,1f.; vgl. E. Ciaceri, Storia della Magna Grecia, II 1927, S. 287ff.

Tarent gewesen sein, ohne aber seine Autonomie zu verlieren, zumal es kontinuierlich seine Münzen prägte. Seit der Zeit des Strengen Stils ist die Koroplastik Metaponts in Typologie und Stil von der Tarents praktisch nicht zu unterscheiden.

Noch ist zur Deutung des Kopfes im J.Paul Getty Museum nichts gesagt worden. Die gewaltigen Akrolithe Ludovisi, Vatikan, S. Omobono, Cirò gehörten zweifellos zu kolossalen Kultbildern. Seine Maße stellen unseren Kopf eher an die Seite der selinuntiner Metopenköpfe, die er um einige Zentimeter überragt. Diese Größe schließt allerdings eine Deutung als Metopenfigur aus, denn die Tempel Metaponts waren kleiner als der bewußte Tempel E von Selinunt. Zudem spricht bisher nichts dafür, daß es an Metaponts Tempeln überhaupt Metopen mit Marmorreliefs gegeben hat; und die anderen Skulpturen-Reste in Metapont²¹ passen weder in der Größe noch chronologisch zu unserem Akrolith. Bleiben die Möglichkeiten einer Giebelfigur, einer Weihgeschenkgigur, eines Kultbildes. Ein Giebel scheint mir wegen der fehlenden passenden Reste in Stein unwahrscheinlich, zumal das Tempelgelände bisher eifrig durchsucht wurde. - Die Deutung als Votiv-Figur wäre ohne weiteres möglich; doch auch als Teil eines Kultbildes ist unser Akrolith - trotz seiner dafür geringen Größe - denkbar. Im ersteren Falle wäre der Körper wohl aus Stein zu ergänzen; bei einem Kultbild dürfte dieser eher aus einem Holzkern mit Metallbeschlügen, evtl. auch mit einem Stoffgewand bekleidet zu denken sein; auch kann ein Kultbild Schmuck und Accessoires aus kostbaren Materialien

getragen haben.

Über den genauen Fundort ist nichts bekannt. Eine Votiv-Statue könnte im weiteren Umkreis des Tempelgeländes und der Agora gestanden haben²².

Von den 4 Stadttempeln Metaponts ließen sich 2 mit Sicherheit dem Apollon Lykeios und der Hera zuweisen²³. Weiterhin fanden sich in unmittelbarer Nähe Votive an Athena; ob der (offenbar älteste) Tempel C ihr oder der Aphrodite oder einer anderen Gottheit geweiht war, ist noch nicht geklärt. Der 'Besitzer' des vierten, ionischen Tempels ist ebenfalls noch nicht identifiziert. Die Hera residierte außerdem am vor den Mauern gelegenen Tempel der 'Tavole Palatine'; Artemis besaß ein berühmtes Quellheiligtum außerhalb der Stadt.

Ob aber als Kultbild oder als Votiv-Statue, der Akrolith im J.Paul Getty Museum hat sicher zur Figur einer Göttin gehört; über Aufstellung und Hauptansicht ist eingangs genug gesagt. Die erhobene rechte Hand kann Zepter, Fackel, Lanze oder ein anderes Attribut gehalten haben, die gesenkte Linke eine Spendeschale, Oinochoe, ein Tier oder auch gar nichts. Die Überlieferung nennt Demeter, Hera, Artemis, Athena als in Metapont besonders verehrte Göttinnen²⁴. Ob unsere Göttin nun die große westgriechische Demeter mit Kreuzfackel und Schweinchen, Polos und Schleier, die Persephone mit der Fackel, Hera mit dem Zepter, Artemis mit Fackel und Tier, Athena mit Lanze und Bronzehelm darstellte, ist wohl nur noch subjektiv zu entscheiden.

Gesche Olbrich
Rom

21. Bogenschütze, verschiedene Köpfe, Gewandfragmente, Tierfragmente u.a. vgl. Adamesteanu, Metaponto, Fig. 25ff.

22. vgl. Hdt. IV 15

23. Tempel A bzw. Tempel B. Adamesteanu, Metaponto, 43ff; Ders. La Basilicata antica, 22ff

24. G. Giannelli, Culti e miti della Magna Grecia², 1963, 65ff.



Fig. 1 Il trono Elgin

L.S. FAUVEL E IL C.D. TRONO ELGIN

Nel 1837 il barone O.M. von Stackelberg, nella prima parte della sua celebre opera "Die Graeber der Hellenen"¹, presenta e commenta il trono marmoreo (fig. 1) (noto principalmente per il gruppo dei Tirannicidi, schizzato a bassorilievo su uno dei suoi fianchi) già ad Atene, poi nella collezione privata di Lord Elgin a Broomhall (Scozia), ed ora nel Museo J.P. Getty a Malibu (California; inv. 74.AA.12; fig. 5-6). E la prima ampia menzione "pubblica" di un monumento che ha richiamato successivamente varie volte l'attenzione degli studiosi²; ma poiché questa prima presenta-

zione comprende, tra varie argomentazioni oggi superate, l'esatto impiego di un metodo combinatorio³ che, avvalendosi di documenti numismatici e di fonti antiche, identifica lo schema del celebre gruppo storico nel bassorilievo citato, sarà utile aggiungere qualche dato inedito e qualche considerazione che illumini la storia ateniese del monumento, prima della sua emigrazione all'estero nel 1818⁴.

Un primo accertamento: la data di pubblicazione nei *Graeber*, 1837, non è da intendere come data della identificazione proposta. Lo Stackelberg fu ad Atene

1) O. M. von Stackelberg, *Die Graeber der Hellenen*, Berlin 1837, pp. 33 ss.

2) Cfr. la vecchia bibliografia in A. Michaelis, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 5, 1884, p. 146; più recentemente, Ch. Seltman, in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 67, 1947, p. 22 ss., tav. VI ss.; C. C. Vermeule, in *Am. Journ. Arch.*, 59, 1955, p. 132; B. Shefton, in *Am. Journ. Arch.*, 64, 1960, p. 173 ss.; G.M.A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*, London 1966, p. 30, fig. 138; oltre che, naturalmente, nella ricca bibliografia dei Tirannicidi (cfr. S. Brunnsäker, *The Tyrant-Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes*, II ed., Lund, 1971); J. Frel, in *Ath.Mitt.* 91, 1976, p. 185ss., tav.65ss.

3) Tale metodo aveva fatto scuola, allora, a Roma, da dove proveniva lo Stackelberg quando giunse in Grecia, nell'ambito degli epigoni del Winckelmann, C. Fea, E. Q. Visconti e A. Nibby (cfr. A. Rumpf, *Archäologie*, I, Berlin 1953, pp. 62 ss., 77 s., 80 s.; II, Berlin 1956, p. 121; C. Anti, *Propedeutica archeologica*, Padova 1966, pp. 95 ss.).

4) Cfr. Michaelis, *op.cit.*, p. 146; A. H. Smith, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 36, 1916, pp. 286, 294. Il trono, acquistato, come si vedrà, già nel 1811, fu spedito dal Pireo solo nel 1818, quando i "marmi Elgin" erano già entrati nel British Museum; per questo motivo esso rimase nella collezione privata degli Elgin.

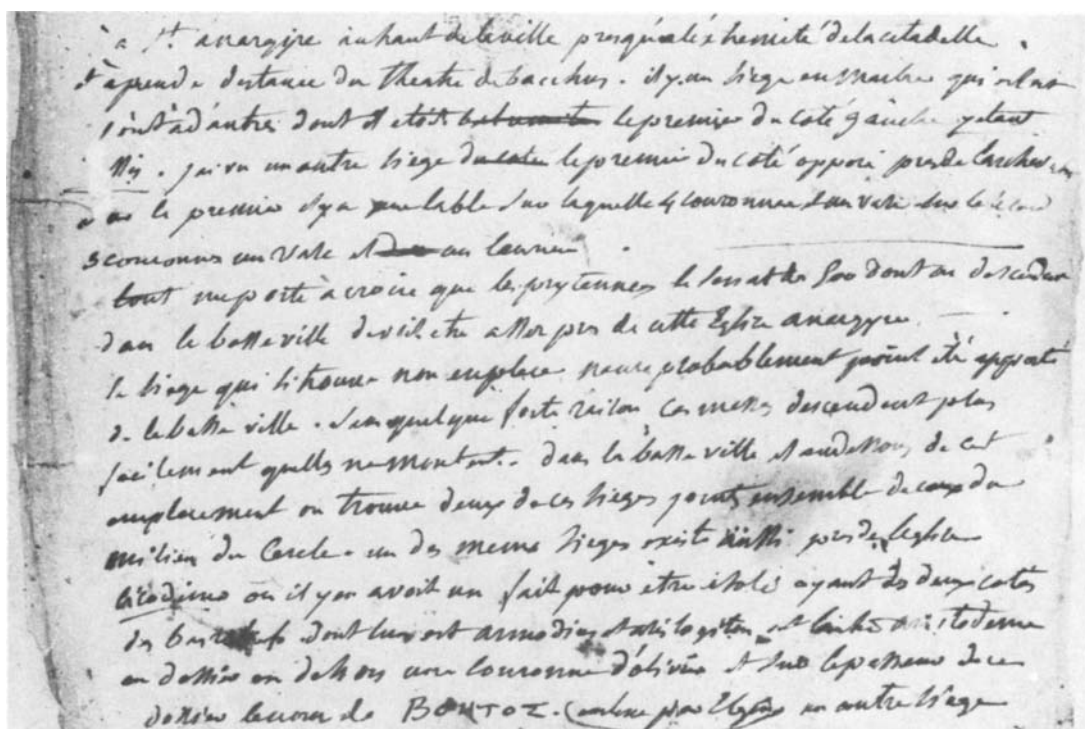


Fig. 2 Fauvel, Bibl. Nat., Mss. Franc. 22877.1, f.181 [nostro A]

ripetutamente, durante il suo viaggio in Grecia dal 1810 al 1814⁵, ed è a quel periodo che va riferita la sua autopsia del monumento. Egli afferma, infatti, che il trono era situato “am Platz des ehemaligen Prytaneum” ad Atene, dove crede (ignorando le sorti successive del monumento)⁶ che esso si trovi ancora, naturalmente al tempo dell’edizione della sua opera, nel 1837. La precisazione è significativa perché implica, da parte dello Stackelberg, l’ignoranza del *Memorandum* dello Hamilton nelle due edizioni del 1811 e del 1815, oltre che nella sua versione tedesca del 1817⁷, nelle quali il trono è già ricordato tra gli acquisti di Lord Elgin, con l’**espressa identificazione nei suoi bassorilievi del gruppo di Armodio e Aristogitone**, da un lato, e dell’uccisione della cortigiana Leaina, dall’altro. Il che ci convince che il primato nella identificazione è dello Stackelberg, nonostante il ritardo della sua edizione, e che quindi è degna di fede la sua affermazione, non priva di orgoglio, che a lui si debba “die erste Erklärung und

Bekanntmachung” del monumento⁸. Oserei anzi dire che fu proprio l’identificazione dello Stackelberg a dare un pregio al trono stesso, prima d’allora non menzionato, e quindi a provocare, con ogni probabilità, l’**interesse e l’acquisto di esso da parte degli agenti di Lord Elgin**, tra gli ultimi mesi del 1810 (data del primo soggiorno ateniese dello Stackelberg) e il 1811 (data della prima edizione del *Memorandum* citato)⁹. Il fatto stesso che egli non ricordi il trono tra i materiali di Lord Elgin o del suo agente Lusieri, mentre per vari altri monumenti di loro proprietà vi è un esplicito ricordo nella sua opera, prova che la sua autopsia dovette esser **precedente all’acquisto; del resto la sua convinzione del 1837 che il trono si trovi ancora ad Atene ne è una indiscutibile riprova.**

Ma dove era esattamente il trono, allorché lo Stackelberg ne delineò la forma e i particolari? Come si maturò e si diffuse la sua identificazione del gruppo dei Tirannicidi nel bassorilievo che sta alla destra del trono

5) Cfr. N. v. Stackelberg, *Otto Magnus von Stackelberg, Schilderung seines Lebens*, Heidelberg 1882, pp. 61 ss., 81 ss., 159 ss.

6) Non era il solo ad ignorarne la sorte: cfr. la nota di F. Osann, in J. Stuart-N. Revett, *Die Alterthümer von Athen*, II, Darmstadt 1831, p. 438, nota 2, e le osservazioni del Michaelis, *op.cit.* p. 146.

7) W. R. Hamilton, *Memorandum of the Subjects of the Earl of*

Elgin's Pursuits in Greece, Edinburgh 1811, p. 32; *id.*, II ed., London 1815, p. 33; *id.*, *Denkschrift über Lord Elgin's Erwerbungen in Griechenland*, Leipzig 1817, p. 22 s.

8) Stackelberg, *Die Graeber*, p. 34.

9) Stackelberg lascia Atene, dove era giunto nell'autunno del 1810, il Capodanno del 1811 (N. v. Stackelberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 92 ss.).

(alla sinistra per chi guarda) e del sacrificio della figlia Chthonia da parte di Eretteo, sul lato opposto? Una risposta a tali quesiti può essere facilitata dall' esame di alcuni passi inediti dei manoscritti di L.S. Fauvel¹⁰, oltre che dalla considerazione del quadro topografico-monumentale dell'Atene del tempo e della fortunata presenza, allora, di un numeroso gruppo di antiquari e artisti interessati, come il Fauvel, alle antichità della città, tutti in rapporto con lo Stackelberg¹¹.

Il Fauvel, colpito, come già prima di lui Stuart e Revett¹², dalla presenza di sedili marmorei in vari punti della città antica, ne fa cenno nei seguenti passi¹³:

A) *Paris, Bibl. Nat., Mss. Franc. 22877.1, f.181.*

«... A St. Anargyre en haut de la ville presqu' a l'extremité de la citadelle et à peu de distance du theatre de Bacchus, il y a un siege en marbre qui etait joint à d'autres, dont il etait le premier du coté gauche y etant assis. J'ai vu un autre siege le premier du coté opposé pres de l'archeveche, dans le premier il y a une table sur laquelle 4 couronnes et un vase, sur le second 3 couronnes, un vase et un laurier.

Tout emporte à croire que les prytannes-le Senat du 500, dont on descendait dans la basse ville, devait etre assez pres de cette Eglise Anargyre. Le siege qui se trouve non en place n'aura probablement point été apporté de la basse ville. Sans quelque forte raison ces masses descendent plus facilement qu'elles ne montent. Dans la basse ville, et au dessous de cet emplacement on trouve deux de ces sieges joints ensemble, de ceux du milieu de cercle. Un des memes sieges existe aussi pres de l'eglise Licodimo où il y en avait un fait pour etre isolé ayant de deux cotés des basreliefs dont l'un est Armodius et Aristogiton et l'autre Aristodeme au dossier en dehors avec couronnes d'olivier et sur le passamein de ce dossier le nom de ΒΟΗΤΟΣ. Enleve par Elgin . . .»

B) *Paris, Bibl. Nat., Mss. Franc., 22877.1, f. 81.*

(in un rapido elenco di materiali presi ad Atene da Lord Elgin)

«deux sièges en marbre ornés de tables et de couronnes pour les jeux»



Fig. 3 L'altro trono presso la Sotira Licodimo (1975)

C) *Paris, Bibl. Nat., Mss. Franc., 22877.1, f. 125.*

(a proposito del monastero di Dafnì, presso Atene)

«... Il y a encore près de la porte de l'église un siège antique avec des chouettes et dans une chapelle un chapiteau dorique qui sert d'autel. . .»

D) *Paris, Bibl. Nat., Mss. Franc. 22877, 1, f. 104 (fig. 7)*

(il foglio appartiene ad un "Cahier d'inscriptions avec dessins" che inizia al f. 91 del ms. citato)

A sinistra, in alto, è schizzato il trono, visto di tre quarti dal lato ove figura scolpito il gruppo dei Tirannicidi. Sotto ad esso la didascalia: "siège de marbre bleuâtre à Sotira Lycodemou. σοτιρα ληχοδεμου (sic)" In alto, sopra il trono, aggiunto a

10) Cfr. la biografia a cura di Ph.E. Legrand, in *Rev. Arch.*, 1897, I, pp. 41 ss., 185 ss., 385 ss.; II, pp. 95 ss.; 1898, pp. 185 ss. Per i rapporti tra Fauvel e Stackelberg, documentati da corrispondenza inedita e dal numeroso materiale dell'antiquario francese accolto nei *Graeber*, cfr. anche *Ath. Ann. Arch.*, 4, 1971, p. 421.

11) P. Goessler, "Nordische Gäste in Athen um 1810", in *Arch.Eph.*, 1937, 1, p. 69 ss.; W. Schiering, in *Handbuch der Archäologie, Allgemeine Grundlagen der Archäologie*, München 1969, p. 58.

12) Stuart-Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, III, London 1794, C.

III, pp. 19, 25, 29; *id.*, *Die Alterthümer von Athen*, II, Darmstadt 1831, pp. 410, 423, 430, 437 ss.

13) La datazione dei fogli dove tali ricordi appaiono non è esplicita nè può esser facilmente ricavata dall' ordine di successione col quale appunti sparsi sono stati rilegati, dopo l'acquisto delle carte Fauvel da parte della Bibl. Nat. di Parigi; elementi impliciti alla descrizione permettono facilmente una datazione relativa, col *terminus p.q.* del 1811. Nei passi citati, per la pubblicazione dei quali si ringrazia la Direzione della Bibl. Nat. di Parigi, si è seguita l'ortografia dell'autore.



Fig. 4 Fauvel: Chiesa della Sotira Licodimon

matita (certo posteriormente alla radazione del disegno) il nome “Elgin”, a ricordo dell’acquisto avvenuto. Accanto, su due righe, è l’appunto a penna “on lit sur l’épaisseur du dossier ΒΟΗΘΟΣ ΔΙΟΔ...”. A fianco del trono, a destra del campo figurato, è una columella funeraria con l’iscrizione ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ / ΘΕΟΔΩΤΟΥ / ΑΛΙΜΟΣΣΙΟ (sic), edita, in forma corretta, in I.G., II/III², 5532, e situata nella necropoli del Ceramico.

I passi citati permettono alcune considerazioni e deduzioni. Risulta innanzitutto chiaro che il nostro trono era collocato, prima della sottrazione ad opera degli agenti di Lord Elgin, presso la Sotira Licodimou,

la grande chiesa bizantina situata al bordo dell’attuale via Philhellenon, a ridosso della cui facciata si conserva ancora oggi l’altro trono ricordato dal Fauvel (fig. 3)¹⁴. Durante la turcocrazia, e forse anche in periodo bizantino, la chiesa, ora officiata dai Russi, costituiva il *katholikon* di un monastero, gravemente danneggiato dal terremoto del 1701 e definitivamente demolito da Ali Kasekì nel 1778, allorché il suo materiale servì per la

14) Il trono presenta L’anatirosi sui due fianchi; è quindi “de ceux du milieu du cercle”.

rapida costruzione del tratto dell'ultima cinta difensiva della città che correva appunto immediatamente a S-SE della chiesa stessa, divenuta allora *metochi* del monastero di Kaisariani¹⁵. La notizia del Fauvel sembra anche confermata da uno schizzo della chiesa eseguito dallo stesso autore, dopo l'erezione del muro di Ali Kasekì che si nota sullo sfondo: nell'angolo inferiore destro del campo figurato è schizzato il trono, visto di dorso, mentre altro materiale sembra essere addossato, come ora, alla facciata della chiesa (fig. 4)¹⁶.

Come si concorda il dato concreto di questa coerente documentazione del Fauvel con l'indicazione dello Stackelberg, legata, come sembra, ad una ipotesi di topografia storica? Pensava, forse, lo Stackelberg che l'area della Sotira Licodimou corrispondesse a quella dell'antico Pritaneo, o, forse, a distanza di tempo dal suo soggiorno ateniese, ha creato confusione tra aree topografiche diverse? Poichè, fino ad uno studio recente¹⁷, si è voluto ricavare dall'indicazione topografica dello Stackelberg deduzioni utili per l'esegesi sulla funzionalità originaria del trono, il caso di questa divergenza va approfondito e discusso.

Vari troni marmorei erano sparsi, allora come oggi, in diversi punti della città di Atene. Fauvel, come s'è visto, ne indica con precisione l'ubicazione.

Uno era collocato nella chiesa dei SS. Anargiri, sulle pendici NE dell'Acropoli, nell'ambito di un monastero¹⁸, ed uno era già presso l'Arcivescovado di Atene, a quel tempo nell'area circostante la Panagia Gorgoepeikoos o piccola Metropoli¹⁹. Questo secondo, già delineato da Stuart e Revett è ricordato come esistente nel *metochi* di H. Cyriani, presso il palazzo vescovile (cioè nella chiesa di S. Nicola, *metochi* del monastero di Kaisariani)²⁰, era stato donato nel 1801 dall'arcivescovo di Atene ai genitori di Mary Nisbet, moglie di Lord Elgin:

imbarcato al Pireo nel settembre del 1802, naufragò a Cerigo, fu recuperato ed è ancora conservato presso gli eredi dei Nisbet, a Biel in Scozia²¹. Il Fauvel ricorda semplicemente di averlo visto e giustamente lo qualifica come il primo a destra di una serie di troni, già congiunti, dei quali quello dei SS. Anargiri sarebbe stato il primo a sinistra, per chi vi sta seduto. In effetti il trono Biel è scolpito e decorato sul suo lato destro, mentre sul sinistro è preparata l'anatiroso per la congiunzione, in serie, ad altri. Il trono dei SS. Anargiri è probabilmente quello che appare, ancora in Stuart e Revett²², senza tuttavia un ricordo esplicito della sua ubicazione: decorato sul suo lato sinistro, può essere appunto "le premier du côté gauche, y étant assis". Il Fauvel sembra ignorarne la sorte, non precisando se ivi il trono esistesse o esista ancora: certo è che non risulta tra i pochi materiali antichi ancora ai SS. Anargiri, né ci è nota la sua attuale ubicazione.

La decorazione dei due troni porta il Fauvel all'ipotesi che essi siano appartenuti ad uno stesso complesso, ad una linea di proedria per intenderci, e a discutere sullo loro originaria sistemazione²³. Egli crede (è concorda in questo con tutta la tradizione di studi topografici, legata ad un passo di Pausania)²⁴ che il Pritaneo fosse nella zona dei SS. Anargiri e che, quindi, il trono presso la Metropoli fosse disceso nella città bassa dalla sua sede originaria. Nella stessa area, tra i SS. Anargiri e la piccola Metropoli, il Fauvel ricorda, quasi a rinforzo della sua teoria, anche un doppio trono, "de ceux du milieu du cercle". La notizia ritorna anche in Stackelberg, il quale ricorda, appunto nella zona del Pritaneo, "die . . . von grossen Marmorblocken gehauenen, einfachen Doppelsitze", e, poco prima, altri troni ancora, che inducono lui, come il Fauvel, nella ipotesi di uno loro originaria pertinenza al Pritaneo²⁵.

15) A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, Leipzig 1868, pp. 66 ss.; G. Sotiriou, *Εὐρετήριο των μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, I, A, 'Αθήναι, Atene 1927, pp. 80 ss. Per le mura di Ali Kasekì cfr. J. Travlos, *Πολεοδομικὴ Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Atene 1960, pp. 195 ss.
16) Paris, Bibl. Nat., Estampes: L. Fauvel, G b 15 b, f. 39 (18 x 22 cm.); cfr. L. et R. Matton, *Athènes et ses monuments du XVII^e siècle à nos jours*, Atene 1963, p. 316, fig. 180, tav. CVII.

17) Seltman, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

18) Mommsen, *op.cit.*, p. 16, n.5; Sotiriou, *op.cit.*, p. 96 s.; Travlos, *op.cit.*, p. 259; la chiesa è situata sul bordo dell'attuale via Pritaniou.

19) Cfr. *Hesperia*, 34, 1965, p. 193, fig. 10.

20) Stuart-Revett, *Antiquities*, cit., III, C.III, pp. 19, 25; *id.*, *Alterthümer*, cit., II, p. 410, Lief. 27, tav. 9. Per la chiesa di S. Nicola: Mommsen, *op.cit.*, p. 119, n. 143; Sotiriou, *op.cit.*, p. 113, n. 20.

21) Seltman, *op.cit.*, pp. 27 ss.; J. Ghennadion, 'Ο Λόγος Ἐλγιν,

Atene 1930, p. 11; Richter, *op.cit.*, p. 100, fig. 496.

22) Stuart-Revett, *Antiquities*, cit., III, C.IV, p. 29; *id.*, *Alterthümer*, cit., II, p. 430, p. 437 ss., nota 10, Lief. 27, tav. 10,3. Da rilevare, tuttavia, nelle due tradizioni, una divergenza nel numero delle corone.

23) L'incertezza sembra giustificare, nel suo elenco dei materiali Elgin, la presenza, non altrimenti attestata, di due troni ornati di tavole e corone: in realtà gli unici due troni attestati nei trasporti dei materiali Elgin sono il trono Biel e il trono Broomhall.

24) Paus., I, 18,3. Cfr. K. S. Pittakis, *L'ancienne Athènes*, Atene 1835, pp. 132 ss., 139; W. M. Leake, *The Topography of Ancient Athens*, II, ed., London 1841, p. 269; E. Breton, *Athènes*, Paris 1862, pp. 261 ss. Per il problema topografico del monumento cfr. recent. Travlos, *op.cit.*, pp. 24, 28, 36, 81.

25) Stackelberg, *op.cit.*, p. 34; la coppia di sedili e, probabilmente, quella conservata, tra materiali vari, all'esterno della parete N del Museo Nazionale di Atene.



Fig. 5 Il trono Elgin

Gli stessi accenni ci convincono, quindi, che anche lo Stackelberg seguiva la tradizione comune che collocava il Pritaneo sulle pendici nordorientali dell'acropoli.

Ipotesi a parte, viene comunque attestata una concentrazione di troni marmorei nella zona ritenuta del vecchio Pritaneo. Un'altra area di concentrazione di essi era presso la città di Adriano: ce ne informano Stuart e Revett, che li mettono in rapporto, come troni di Ginnasiarchi, col vicino Liceo o, come troni di Magistrati, col tribunale del Delphinion²⁶, e ce ne dà conferma il passo di Fauvel che ne ricorda due, presso la Sotira Licodimou.

Due aree, quindi, tra le quali lo Stackelberg può aver creato confusione.

Esce dai limiti della presente nota il problema dell'esegesi della decorazione nonché dell'originaria sistemazione e funzionalità del trono Elgin, isolato, per forma, stile, e datazione, rispetto alla serie degli altri troni, ricordati dal Fauvel ad Atene e Dafni, arricchitasi in seguito di altri esemplari²⁷. Vorrei solo sottolineare i motivi della loro diaspora nell'Atene medioevale e

26) Stuart-Revett, *Antiquities*, p. 25; *id.*, *Alterthümer*, *cit.*, p. 410.

27) Caratterizza la serie di questi troni la costante presenza del motivo decorativo di una coppia di civette sulla fronte del sedile: cfr. esempi e bibliogr. in Rumpf, *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, 39, 1952, p. 86, n. 14; Richter, *op.cit.*, p. 100. Uno studio dettagliato su di essi e in corso ad opera del dott. C. Gasparri.



Fig. 6 Il trono Elgin

moderna. Come s'è visto, essi trovarono un reimpiego nell'ambito di monasteri ed a questo motivo è dovuta anche la diaspora di alcuni **di essi in collezione straniera**. Ce lo dice un passo del *Memorandum* di Hamilton²⁸, secondo il quale l'arcivescovo di Atene avrebbe dato a Lord Elgin il permesso di cercare e portar via antichità esistenti nelle chiese e nei monasteri della città e dei dintorni; tra queste antichità è ricordato appunto il trono dei Tirannicidi, che dobbiamo pensare già pertinente all'exmonastero della Sotira Licodimou.

Un ultimo appunto, per concludere, sulle esegesi relative ai due gruppi figurati a bassorilievo ai due lati del trono. L'individuazione del gruppo dei Tirannicidi, operata dallo Stackelberg sullo scorcio del 1810, dovette

immediatamente convincere e colpire la società degli antiquari e artisti, allora presenti ad Atene. Fauvel, gli archeologi danesi Bronsted e Koes, l'architetto tedesco Haller von Hallerstein, il pittore J. Linckh, gli architetti inglesi Ch. Cockerell e Foster, Lord Byron, il pittore Lusieri, agente di Lord Byron, erano, negli ultimi mesi del 1810, alla vigilia delle scoperte di Egina e Basse, i nomi più rilevanti di questa società²⁹. E certo la proposta di Stackelberg dovette diffondersi rapidamente e dare adito a discussioni. Questo non tanto per il

28) Hamilton, *loc.cit.*; K. Simopoulos, *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στην 'Ελλάδα*, Atene 1975, p. 315 s.

29) Goessler, *op.cit.*, a nota 11; Simopoulos, *op.cit.*, pp. 132 ss.

gruppo dei Tirannicidi, quanto per quello, contrapposto, di un guerriero che uccide una figura femminile, caduta ai suoi piedi. Lo Stackelberg propose di riconoscervi Eretteo che uccide la figlia Chthonia, in ossequio all'oracolo delfico, per ottenere la vittoria di Atene su Eleusi³⁰: esempio di virtù monarchica in parallelo con l'esempio di virtù repubblicana del gruppo dei Tirannicidi, nella coerenza di una esegesi di carattere simbolistico, legata alla storia dell'Attica. Hamilton, riflettendo dal canto suo un'ipotesi di natura più narrativa, riconosce nella scena discussa un completamento della vicenda dei Tirannicidi, con l'uccisione della cortigiana Leaina che aveva preferito privarsi della lingua piuttosto che tradire ai Pisistratidi i suoi compagni³¹. Fauvel porta nella questione una terza variante. In forma estremamente sintetica egli ricorda su un lato "Armodius et Aristogiton" e sull'altro

"Aristodème". Tra i vari personaggi di questo nome è facile supporre che Fauvel, assiduo lettore di Pausania, abbia inteso l'Aristodemos di Messene³². Durante la prima guerra messenica l'oracolo delfico aveva, infatti, ingiunto ai Messeni di offrire, per il buon esito delle operazioni, una vergine agli dei inferi; Aristodemos, superando opposizioni e contrasti, sacrificò la propria figlia. Un caso analogo quindi a quello prospettato dall'ipotesi dello Stackelberg ma qui, oltre i confini dell'Attica, nell'orizzonte più largo della storia ellenica.

Nessuna di queste ipotesi è oggi più sostenibile³³. Abbiamo voluto, tuttavia, richiamare l'attenzione su di esse, per sottolineare implicitamente, e in margine alla correzione di un dato di provenienza, l'immediata fortuna di una identificazione, quale quella del gruppo dei Tirannicidi, che avrà il suo ideale e sostanziale completamento nel 1859, ad opera di C. Friederichs³⁴.

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Fig. 7 Fauvel, *Bibl. Nat., Mss. Franc. 22877.1, f. 104* [nostro D]

30) Sul mito cfr. P.W., III, 2, c. 2523 n. 4, s.v. *Chthonia*.

31) Paus., I, 23, 1; Plin., *Nat.Hist.*, 34, 72; Plut., Περὶ ἀδολεσχ., 8.

32) Paus., IV,7,7; 9,6 ss.; P.W., II, 1896, c. 921 s.n.7, s.v.

Aristodemos; cfr. Legrand, in *Rev. Arch.*, 1897, II, p. 100.

33) Cfr. Seltman, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

34) C. Friederichs, "Harmodios and Aristogeiton", in *Arch. Zeit.*, 17, 1859, cc. 65-72.



Stele of Opsiades and Polystrate, J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AA.116 (another view)

ARISTOTELES, THE SON OF OPSIADES AND POLYSTRATE

In my article "Two Attic Funerary Stelai in the J. Paul Getty Museum", *Getty M.J.* II, 1975, pp. 53-56, publishing the stele of Opsiades and Polystrate (*ibidem*, pp. 53-54, Fig. 1) I did not mention in the prosopographical commentary their son Aristoteles. It is interesting to note, that from the inscriptions recording the name of *Aristoteles son of Opsiades of Oion*, the

family's wealth, obvious from the quality of a funerary monument like the one prepared for the grave of Polystrate, can now be connected with Attic silver mining.

From IG II² 1582, line 85, we learn that *Aristoteles son of Opsiades of Oion*, ca 342/1 BC, was the registrant of a mine located in the Attic deme of

Amphitrope. From line 92 of the same inscription, we learn that Aristoteles is at the same time one of the lessees of the mine. Further evidence for Aristoteles' active engagement in mining comes from the appearance of his name in another "mining inscription" dating in the same decade as IG II² 1582 (*Hesperia* XIX, 299: for date *ibidem*. p. 200).

Despite the fact that neither Opsiades nor his son Aristoteles appears in the recently published "libro d'oro" of the wealthy ancient Athenians (J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-200 B.C.*, Oxford, 1971), there is no doubt in my mind that they belong to this group.

One more mention of Aristoteles (or another son of

Opsiades also engaged in mining?) may be the one in another 'mining inscription' (*Hesperia* XIX, 261; No. 19, line 37) where the editor reads:

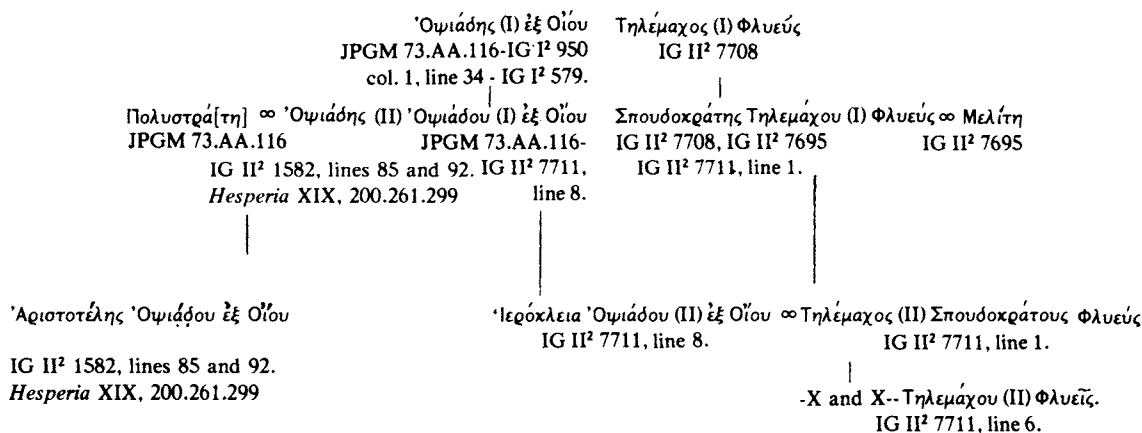
[-----]ἀδους ἐξ Οἴου

One is tempted to make a restoration here based on the above inscriptions, to read as follows:

[- - 'Αριστοτέλης 'Οψι] ἀδου<ς> ἐξ Οἴου

Adding the son of Opsiades II, Aristoteles, to the stemma of the family creates no problems, but makes its revision necessary. The revised stemma accompanying this 'addendum' differs from that of the previous note (p. 53, note 1) only in the entries for Opsiades II and Aristoteles, his son and the brother of Hierokleia.

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THE HEROIC GRAECO-ROMAN ZEUS FROM THE VILLA D'ESTE AND MARBURY HALL: A CULT IMAGE CREATED AFTER A MAJOR HELLENISTIC (PERGAMENE) PROTOTYPE

Although damaged, the head of this masterpiece acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum has never been broken¹. Its strongly Hellenistic character indicates that this statue goes directly back to a Zeus in a temple at Pergamon around 160 B.C. or to a similar statue in precious materials, bronze, or marble created for a city of the East under Pergamene influence. The original of the statue which Clarac and Michaelis admired in Cheshire in its restored condition is not to be associated with the Capitoline Jupiter of about 80 B.C. and the descendents of that later cult image, for the head of the Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill was much less free, much more academic in the tradition of the Otricoli Zeus, the large statue in the Vatican, and, ultimately, the work of Bryaxis (the Younger) at the outset of the Hellenistic age.

The head of the Zeus from Marbury Hall betrays an original as filled with emotion as those of the gods of the Altar of Zeus Soter which once stood at Pergamon, and clearly derived from the same workshop. Adolf Michaelis wrote of the head as having a "good-natured expression", but this may have been due to the older restoration, which must have smoothed out and idealized the features. Actually, all aspects of the face of the Marbury Zeus are rather fearsome to behold, as befits a monumental statue of the so-called Second Pergamene School. Although slightly toned down by the copyist and somewhat smoothed over in antiquity and the post-Renaissance period, the muscles follow the proportions of the Zeus from the principal frieze of the Altar of Zeus². The fact that, for a late Hellenistic

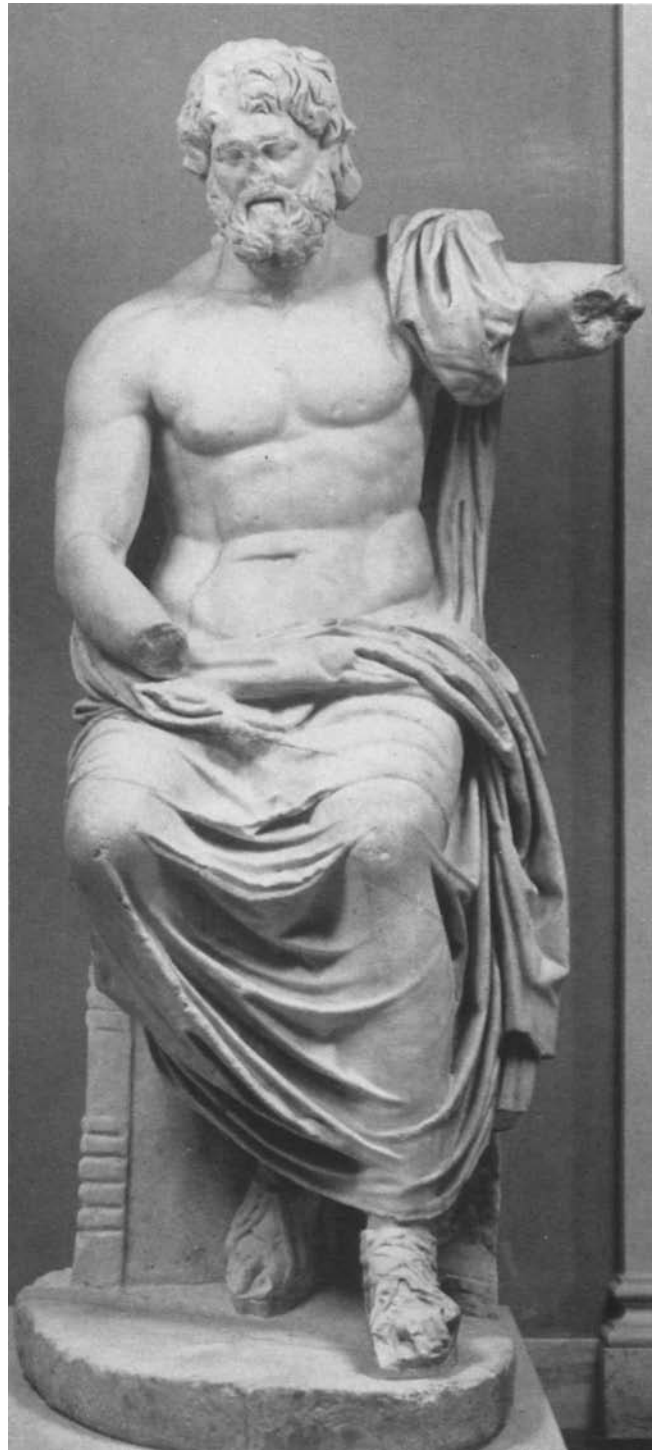


Fig. 1 Zeus Marbury Hall

creation or a Graeco-Roman copy, head and body are more than normally dependent on Pergamene models can be understood by comparison with the statue of Poseidon in the National Museum at Athens, from Melos, which has been identified as classicizing work of the middle of the second century B.C.³ The seated god, presumably Chronos, watching the birth of his son Zeus

1) H.: 2.07m. Coarse-grained Greek (island ?) marble. A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge 1882, p. 501, no. 1; Clarac, Ill. 396D, 666A; C.C. Vermeule, *Hesp.* 45, 1976, p. 71, pl. 12d (inv. no. 73.AA.32).

2) M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York 1955, p. 115, fig. 459.

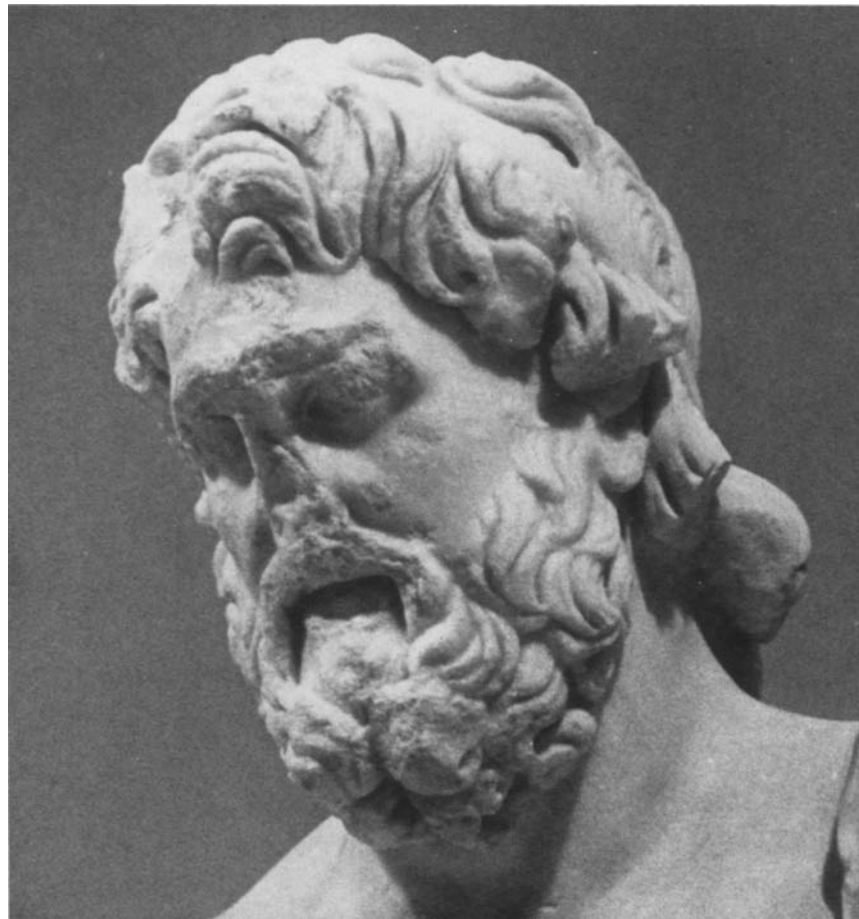


Fig. 2 Head of the Zeus Marbury Hall.

in the East Frieze of the Temple of Hekate at Lagina near Stratonikeia in Caria, stands very close to the source of the Marbury Hall Zeus, and also, from subject and internal associations as well as location in the late Hellenistic East, in a collateral ancestral relationship with the Westmacott Jupiter in the J. Paul Getty Museum⁴.

The old restoration of the Marbury Hall Zeus with a thunderbolt in the right hand is correct, as can be seen in the smaller replica (1.05m. in total height, and therefore half-“lifesized”), brought to the Imperial Ottoman Museums in Constantinople in 1900 from the Vilayet of Aydin (ancient Tralleis)⁵. Gustave Mendel called the Zeus from Demirdji “bon travail hellénis-

tique”, after a model by the master Lysippos or his school at the outset of the Hellenistic age, which is correct in a general sense since Pergamene bodies stem from the restless proto-naturalism of Lysippos while the faces are derived from those of Skopas earlier in the fourth century B.C. The statue with the head preserved (or restored to include the left shoulder with characteristic cloak), in the courtyard of the Museo Archeologico, Florence, shows the differences between these two statues and the canonical, Graeco-Roman copies after the several variations of the Capitoline Jupiter⁶. In this general milieu, the Zeus once admired and later badly neglected during its sojourn in the British Isles can now be reappraised as landmark of Pergamene sculptural influence in the Roman imperial world, in Italy as well as in the Greek East.

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3) Bieber, *op.cit.*, p. 160, fig. 684.

4) Bieber, *op.cit.*, p. 165, fig. 704; C.C. Vermeule, Getty MJ, 2, 1975, pp. 99 ff.

5) G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures*, II, Rome 1966 (reprint), p. 248, no. 535, fig. in text.

6) Jifí Frel has provided the inspiration for this brief note, written in the field at Morphou, Cyprus, and dedicated to the memory of Sir Charles Nuffler, my close companion of nearly a decade, of humanistic studies in the Greek imperial world.

ARCHAIC ETRUSCAN STONE SCULPTURE

The J. Paul Getty Museum may justly boast of a good sampling of Etruscan stone (nenfro) sculpture of the Archaic period which, as representative of Etruscan stone sculpture of relatively large scale other than sarcophagi, is rare for any single collection in the United States.¹ Of the four Getty tufa sculptures, two are executed in-the-round (Figs. 1-2, 7-9); the remaining two (Figs. 12, 18-19) are reliefs, and may have originally formed part of a single monument.²

1. Sphinx (Figs. 1-2)

71.AA.292.

Preserved height, 51 cm., max. width, 29 cm.;
max. depth, 39 cm.

The sickle-shaped wings, lower forelegs, and major portion to the rear of the body which includes its haunches and hind legs are altogether missing. There is severe damage to the top of the head—particularly at the left side—and to the lower part of the face itself. With the exception of the left eye, the surviving features of the face are considerably worn or chipped.

Despite the poor state of preservation, the Getty sphinx nonetheless retains the stiff and formal pose, yet alert quality that characterizes the role of the Etruscan sphinx as guardian figure to a tomb.³ In the general shape of its head and facial features, the Getty sphinx

shares much in common with a sphinx in Vienna (Fig. 3).⁴ But for an important section of the sickle-shape wing which is still in evidence near the nape of the neck, by some strange coincidence, the Vienna sphinx reveals almost the same amount of preserved portions as does the Getty sphinx. The contours of the exceptionally large open eyes, the shape of the nose and mouth, and the ponderous and wig-like hair, both in shape and general treatment of the tresses trailing on each side of the head, are remarkably similar. This "hairstyle" contrasts sharply to those sphinxes with their hair

1. Nenfro is a hard grey variety of tufa (tufo), a stone of volcanic origin which is characteristic to parts of present day Tuscany and Latium; see A. Hus, *Recherches sur la statuaire en pierre étrusque archaïque* (Paris, 1961), pp. 443ff. Tufa is easily cut with a sharp tool and was commonly used by Etruscan sculptors for architectural moldings, altars, sarcophagi, and other sculptures of relatively large scale. For a selection of Etruscan tufa sculpture in an American collection: cf., C. Vermeule, "An Etruscan Zoo Revisited," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* LXII (1964), pp. 103-113.

2. I wish to thank Dr. Jiff Frel, Curator of Classical Antiquities, for the opportunity to study and publish the four Etruscan stone sculptures. I must acknowledge the diligent research of Ms. Constance Okada, a student in my graduate seminar in Etruscan Art at the University of California, Santa Barbara, for some of the data and observations incorporated in this paper.

3. See W. L. Brown, *The Etruscan Lion* (Oxford, 1960), p. 62; A. Hus, p. 398ff.; and E. Richardson, *The Etruscans* (Chicago, 1964), p. 95.

4. Vienna, Private Collection: see *Studi Etruschi* IV (1930), pls. VII, VIII, 1 and pl. IX, 1; see also A. Hus, p. 41, no. 8 and pl. XXII, 8.



Figs. 1,2: Tufa Sphinx Inv. no. 71.AA.292

arranged in large horizontal plaits.⁵ Since a portion of the upper brow of the Getty sphinx is missing, it is not possible to ascertain whether or not she possessed a series of large curls as does her Vienna counterpart or, perhaps, a filet set flush against the brow as known from other stone sphinxes.⁶ Comparison of the rounded and more finished modelling of the neck area on the Vienna sphinx with the Getty example on which the neck remains broad, flat, and unworked, discloses the range of attention, or competency often displayed by sculptures that may be products of a single workshop.

An especially close stylistic parallel to the Getty sphinx is the head of the well-known tufa centaur from Vulci, (ca. 575 B.C.), presently in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (Fig. 4).⁷ The condition of the centaur's head illustrates well the "daedalic" style which flourished at Vulci during the first quarter of the 6th century B.C.⁸ Both the head of the Getty sphinx and of the Vulci centaur approximate the same shape, exhibit a similar swelling to the broad cheeks, with the large

eyes, flaring nose, and wide mouth very much alike in form and contours. The only difference between them is in the treatment of the large ropes of hair falling to either side of the faces: on the sphinx, the direction of the diagonal striations is downward; on the centaur, it is upward.

5. See *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* XLII (1964), p. 108, fig. 9.

6. See E. Dohan, "A Xoanon from Narce," *Studi Etruschi* X (1936), pp. 9-13 and pl. 1.

7. A. Hus, p. 44f., no. 17 and pl. XXII. Although many of the following references to the Vulci center are given by Hus, they and a few others are listed here for the sake of convenience: G. Giglioli, *L'arte Etrusca* (Milan, 1935), pl. LXVIII; M. Pallottino and M. Hurlimann, *Art of the Etruscans* (London, 1955), pl. 38; G. Hanfmann, *Etruskische Plastik* (Stuttgart, 1956), pl. 7b; M. Santangelo, *Musei e Monumenti Etruschi* (Novara, 1960), p. 88; G. Mansuelli, *The Art of Etruria and Rome* (New York, 1965), pl. 8; L. Banti, *Il Mondo degli Etruschi* (Rome, 1960), pl. 32; and *The Etruscan Cities and their Culture* (Berkeley, 1973), pl. 43c.

8. A. Hus, p. 174.



Fig. 3: Tufa Sphinx Vienna, Private Collection



Fig. 4: Tufa Centaur from Vulci Rome

That the Getty sphinx and the Vienna sphinx were originally seated rather than standing sphinxes, is testified by more complete examples and,⁹ to a large extent, by a series of winged lions carved in nenfro. Two lions which can be dated to the early years of the 6th century B.C., one in the Ashmolean Museum with its wings missing (Fig. 5),¹⁰ the other from Vulci with sickle wings yet preserved, (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fig. 6),¹¹ show striking similarities with the Getty sphinx in the rendering of specific details on the body. The deeply modelled horizontal planes at the sides of the lion's body are reflected by the incised lines on the Getty sphinx. In addition, they possess the same broad curved band which, judging by the New York lion, represents the upper edge or border of the wing. For the decorative treatment of the area from the shoulder muscles down to the forelegs, the Ashmolean lion offers a particularly

close analogy to the Getty sphinx.¹²

On the evidence of the close proximity in style between the heads of the Getty sphinx and the Vulci centaur and the analogies drawn with the winged lions, the Getty sphinx may be a product of a Vulci workshop and dated to the first quarter of the 6th century B.C.

9. *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita* 1931, p. 234, fig. 4; U. Tarchi, *L'Arte Etrusco-Romano nell'Umbria e nella Sabina I* (Milan, 1936), pl. II, III; A. Hus, pl. XXXVI, 34; *Bull of MFA* LXII (1964), p. 108, fig. 9; and D. Strong, *The Early Etruscans* (New York, 1968), p. 61.

10. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. 1963.32; See *Bull of MFA* LXII (1964), p. 111, fig. 14.

11. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. See *Bull of MFA* LXII, (1964), p. 112, fig. 16; *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, October, 1960, p. 45; and E. Richardson, pl. XVII.

12. Note the same area on the winged lion in Boston, inv. no. 61.131: *Bull of MFA* XLII (1964), p. 112, fig. 15.



Fig. 5: Tufa Winged Lion Oxford



Fig. 6: Tufa Winged Lion New York



Figs. 7,8: Tufa Kore (Sphinx ?) Inv. no. L.75.AA.27



Fig. 9: Tufa Kore



Fig. 10: Tufa Sphinx Copenhagen

2. "Kore" (Sphinx ? Figs. 7-9)

75.AA.27 Anonymous loan.

Preserved height, 56 cm.; max. width, 38 cm.;
max. depth, 23 cm.

Head and armless torso remains.

Considerably worn and damaged surface
particularly at the top of the head, the forehead,
and the left side of the face.

Bibliography: *Catalogue, Etruscan Art.*
Otis Art Institute of Los Angeles County,
1963, p. 12; M. Del Chiaro, *Etruscan Art*
from West Coast Collections, Santa Barbara,
1967, no. 13.

That the torso represents a female rather than a male
is implicit from the tunic (the neckline is faintly visible)
and the character of the coiffure with its long tresses,
three to each side of the face, falling loosely across the
shoulder and down the front of the body. At the back of

the head, the hair, which is neatly arranged in nine long
parallel tresses with striations that create an overall
herringbone pattern, terminates in a horizontal undula-
ting edge near the shoulder blades. The hair is swept
back in a bold wave over the ears, and thereby imparts
a greater prominence to the ears. "Kore" may presently
serve to identify the type of the Malibu sculpture but, in
view of the incomplete nature of the sculpture, one
cannot altogether discount the possibility that it, too,
like the preceding Getty sculpture, may represent a
sphinx.

The general shape of the head, the full jaw, and the
high "undaedalic" brow, strongly recall a stone sphinx
in Copenhagen (Fig. 10).¹³ Like the Getty kore, it also
possesses a smallish tight-lipped mouth with upturned
corners, narrow, widely spaced almond-shaped eyes
rendered with a nearly horizontal lower edge, and a

13. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: A. Boethius et al, *Etruscan Culture, Land and People* (New York, 1962), figs. 350-352.



Fig. 11: Tufa Frieze Block Inv. no. 71.AA.267

gracefully arched "eyelid". However, the hair style of the Copenhagen sphinx differs significantly from that of the Getty kore in its general character and details. At the damaged brow of the Getty kore, there is still visible the trailing ends of the fringe or bangs (hair combed down onto the forehead) a hair style fashionable for korai and/or sphinxes from a different artistic atmosphere than Vulci, namely, Chiusi.¹⁴ There, the bangs, which are most often corkscrew or peppercorn in shape, normally terminate in a straight rather than a serrated line. A terracotta head (antefix?) in Copenhagen from Praeneste (Southern Etruria) offers a striking parallel to the Malibu head for the treatment of its bangs.¹⁵ But the Vulcian features are stronger and it seems that the Malibu Kore is best attributed to a sculptor from Vulci active to about the middle of the 6th century B.C.

3. Frieze with Sphinx and Grazing Stag (Fig. 11) 71.AA.267

Preserved length, 77 cm.; height, 34 cm.;
width, 18 cm., height of frieze, 18 cm.

Bibliography: Sotheby, Dec. 1, 1969, no. 154.

At the far left of the frieze (height, 18 cm.), there is carved a sphinx walking to the left and looking straight ahead, its head in profile to the left, its upheld tail curled echoing the turn of the sickle-shaped wings. Directly behind the sphinx, a stag to left with lowered head and heavy but graceful antlers, grazes nonchalantly. Comparable animals certainly derived from Greek prototypes are not difficult to find in Etruscan

art as can be readily seen in the Etruscan imitations of Corinthian pottery from the early 6th c. B.C., that is, Etrusco-Corinthian.¹⁶ More closely related to relief sculpture, however, are a distinctive series of nenfro sculpture which, for lack of a better identification, have been called tomb "doors" or "door slabs." Perhaps the designation, "lastroni tarquiniese" is more appropriate

14. From Chiusi: A. Hus, pl. XXXVI, 34, G. Giglioli, pl. LXXVII, 5, and D. Strong, p. 61; *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 1931, p. 234f., figs. 4 and 5, and pl. III; A. Hus, pls. XXX, 4 and 5, XXXIII, 21-25, and XXXV, 33. From Cortona but attributable to the "Chiusine" School: *Studi Etruschi* XX (1948-49), pl. 5, fig. 1; M. Pallottino and M. Hurlimann, pl. 37; and A. Hus, pl. XXXIII, 25; and G. Mansuelli, p. 101.

15. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: see A. Boethius et al., fig. 403.

16. For some recent studies of Etrusco-Corinthian: see G. Colonna, "Il Ciclo etrusco-corinzio dei Rosoni," *Studi Etruschi* XXIX (1961), pp. 47-88 and pls. XII-XXIV; G. Colonna, "La ceramica etrusco-corinzia e la problematica storica dell'orientalizzante recente in Etruria," *Archeologia Classica* 13 (1961), pp. 9-24. J. Szilágyi, "Italo-Corinthica," *Studi Etruschi* XXVI (1958), pp. 273-287 and pls. VI-VIII; D. Amyx, "Some Etrusco-Corinthian Vase-Painters," *Studi in onore di Luisa Banti* (Rome, 1965), pp. 1-14 and pls. I-V; J. Szilágyi, "Remarques sur les vases Etrusco-Corinthiens de l'Exposition Étrusque de Vienne," *Archeologia Classica* 20 (1968), pp. 1-23 and pl. I-XIV; F. Zevi, "Nuovi vasi del Pittore della Sfinge Barbata," *Studi Etruschi* XXXVII (1969), pp. 39-58 and pls. XIV-XXVI; J. Szilágyi, "La fabbriche ceramica Etrusco-Corinzia a Tarquinia," *Studi Etruschi* XL (1972), pp. 19-71 and pls. I-X; J. Szilágyi, "The St. Louis Painter," *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debrecenensis*, X-XI (1974-75), pp. 5-14; and E. Paola Porten Palange, "Olpe Etrusco-Corinzia in una collezione privata ticinese," *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche* V (1976), pp. 7-25.



Fig. 12: Tufa Relief Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale



Fig. 13: Tufa Reliefs Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale



Fig. 14: Bronze Chariot Relief Munich, fur Antike Kunst



Fig. 15: Incised Bucchero Kantharos Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia



Fig. 16: Incised Bucchero Amphora Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia

in view of their Tarquinian provenance, sepulchral association, and bulky character.¹⁷ There is general agreement that these decoratively rich tufa reliefs date

17. Tomb doors or tomb slabs, and the like, since they may have been used to seal the doorways and/or upper open areas of Tarquinian tombs: see *Notizie degli di Antichità* 1930, pp. 167 ff., 1931, pp. 226ff., and 1952, pp. 224ff.; A. Åkerstrom, *Studien über die etruskischen Gräber* (Oxford, 1934); M. Pallottino in *Monumenti Antichi della Accademia di Lincei* 36 (1937), pp. 197ff.; and P. Riis, *Tyrrhenika* (Copenhagen, 1945), p. 66f. We may look forward to a study by G. Colonna, *I lastroni di pietra arcaici di tipo tarquiniese* to be published in a forthcoming number of *Studi e Materiali di Etruscologia e Antichità Italiane*, University of Rome.



Fig. 17: Tufa Frieze Block Inv. no. 71.AA.337

predominantly to the first half of the 6th century B.C.¹⁸ Compared to the Getty reliefs, their carving is more flat, almost “cut-outs”, with a profuse use of incision for details. There are many Tarquinian “door” reliefs with the same animals in the Getty frieze found walking sphinx and grazing stag (see Figs. 12-13).¹⁹

A provocative detail located at the extreme right of the frieze, the human leg, has yet to be considered. To judge by the height and proportion of the leg within the frieze, it could not possibly be that of a standing or striding figure. Nor, on the evidence of the rounded knee which appears above the midpoint of the frieze, could it be taken for the bent knee of a running figure in the *Knielauf* position which frequently appears on Tarquinian nenfro reliefs (see Fig. 12).²⁰ Similarly, it does not seem tenable that the bent leg belongs to a curious breed of squatting figure, either winged-human or gorgon, depicted with torso in strict frontal view, arms held upwards or out to the sides, and head set frontally or in profile to the right or the left (see Figs. 13-14).²¹ Little space would have remained within the Getty frieze for the upper body of such squatting figures.

A better or more plausible explanation may be found for the “dangling” human leg on the Getty relief through a consideration of an astonishing theme in Etruscan art, in wall painting, on bronzes, and on painted or incised vases, where a lion or feline (“panther” or “leopard”, see *infra*, note 24) devours some part of human anatomy, a head,²² or more often, a

18. W.L. Brown, p. 51; M. Pallottino and M. Hurlimann, p. 138; and L. Banti, *Cities*, p. 240.

19. See M. Santangelo, pp. 150-151; M. Pallottino and M. Hurlimann, pl. 34; L. Banti, *Il Mondo degli Etruschi* pl. 40 below, and *Etruscan Cities*, pl. 38b. From Vulci rather than Tarquinii, and a cippus rather than “door” slab, there appears a walking sphinx: see Banti, *Etruscan Cities*, respectively pl. 39 and pl. 43b. Grazing stags on a terracotta plaque from Poggio Buco near Vulci and now in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Banti, *Etruscan Cities*, respectively pl. 38 above and pl. 54a.

20. M. Santangelo, p. 150; G. Giglioli, pl. LXXI, 2; M. Pallottino and M. Hurlimann, pl. 34.

21. M. Santangelo, p. 151; G. Giglioli, pl. LXXIX, I, LXXXVII, 3. M. Pallottino and M. Hurlimann, pl. 51.

22. See M. Pallottino and M. Hurlimann, pl. 71 and W.L. Brown, pl. XLII.



Fig. 18: Tufa Frieze Block (End of block)

leg (see Figs. 15-16).²³ A close look at the leg on the Getty relief discloses that directly above and slightly to the right of the rounded knee, there is another rounded form which may be the extant portion of an animal's muzzle. Unfortunately, the nenfro block could not have been broken off at a more crucial point! Nevertheless, the presence of human leg can now be understood and thereby adds greater significance to the frieze since it marks the only example of the theme known to me in Etruscan stone sculpture.

The second nenfro relief retains a seated animal and, at its right end serving as a finial or terminating element, the protome of a leopard (or panther)²⁴ modelled in exceptionally high relief (Fig. 18-19).

4. Frieze with Seated-Animal (Griffin) and Leopard's Head (Figs. 17-18)

71.AA.337

Preserved length, 57 cm.; height, 36 cm.; max. width, 18 cm. Height of frieze, 18 cm.



Fig. 19: Tufa Leopard Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Considerable damage to the relief at the broken and jagged left-hand side of the block. The left ear of the leopard is missing.

Bibliography: Sotheby, Dec. 1, 1969 no. 154

To judge by the height of the frieze (18 cm.), which equals that of the relief previously discussed, and the general character of the poorly preserved animal (gaping lion or griffin) yet visible, the two sculptured tufa blocks must have served to decorate one large monument. Since the animal seated to the left within the frieze is damaged, identification poses a problem. Can it be a lion with gaping jaw, whose ruff is suggested by a faint line which runs vertically down the side of the head? It must be remembered, however, that a ruff is sometimes present on the heads of griffins.²⁵ If the gaping beak-like character to the head is not simply a coincidence of breakage, the animal may be safely

23. A. Rumpf, *Die Wandmalereien in Veii* (Potsdam, 1917), p. 44; G. Giglioli, "Un'anfora di bronzo inedita della necropoli di Orvieto," *Studi Etruschi* IV (1930), pp. 103-125 and pls. XII-XIII; *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 1928, p. 99; W.L. Brown, pl. 18; F. Johansen, *Reliefs en Bronze d'Etrurie* (Copenhagen, 1971), pl. XVIII; M. Bonamici, *I Bucchieri con Figurezioni Graffite* (Florence, 1974), assorted plates. Bonamici believes Veii to be the center for bucchero incised with animals devouring human limbs (p. 156). See also P. Bocci, "Motivi etruschi sui bronzi atestini ed alpini," *Studi in onore di Luisa Banti* (Rome, 1965), pp. 69-79 and pl. XVII in which the author recognizes additional Etruscan centers for the remarkable iconography that finds its way into Etruria during the orientaling period.

24. Such feline animals are generally identified as "panthers" or "leopards": see W.L. Brown, Appendix II, pp. 170ff. who suggests that such animals are better regarded as leopards. "Panther" and "leopard" are of course synonymous.

25. See *Memoires of the American Academy in Rome* V (1925), pl. 31.

assumed to be a griffin. Analogies for the gaping griffin can be readily found in Etruria; note for example, the griffin-head adjuncts to bronze cauldrons,²⁶ or the seated and walking griffins which appear on terracotta or tufa reliefs.²⁷

For the head of the leopard which approximates sculpture in-the-round (Fig. 18), two especially close parallels in nenfro sculpture may be cited: two reclining leopards (most probably from Vulci) in Boston (e.g., Fig. 19).²⁸ Relatively flat in cross-section yet carved in the round, the Boston felines were doubtlessly sepulchral animals which served as guardian figures to an Etruscan tomb during the second quarter of the 6th century B.C.²⁹ Like the Getty leopard, one of the Boston felines holds its head down close against the body, and all three heads share large staring eyes, small ears set close against the head, and a wrinkled snarling nose

which on the Getty leopard is less conspicuous due to its heavily worn surface. The remarkable discoveries at Poggio Civitate (Murlo, near Siena) include examples of terracotta leopard ("pantera") heads which share many features in common with the three foregoing heads.³⁰ At the same site, a terracotta griffin head with gaping mouth was unearthed, which, together with the terracotta leopard heads, must date to the beginning of the 6th century B.C.³¹

From the close stylistic parallels that exist between the two Getty nenfro frieze blocks and the Tarquinian "door" reliefs, the three-dimensional Boston sepulchral leopards, and Etrusco-Corinthian and bucchero pottery, etc., a date for the Getty reliefs within the first half of the 6th century B.C. is most probable. And, like the Getty sphinx and "kore", the place of manufacture was southern Etruria, most likely at Vulci.³²

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26. *Memoires* 29 and 31; M. Pallottino and M. Hurlimann, pl. 30; and A. Boethius et al. pl. 36.

27. On a terracotta plaque: see L. Banti, *Il Mondo degli Etruschi* pl. 38 and *Etruscan Cities* pl. 54a. On nenfro reliefs: see M. Pallottino and M. Hurlimann, pl. 34; and E. Richardson, pl. XVIIIb.

28. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. nos. 61.130 and 63.2757: see *Bull. of MFA* XLII (1964), p. 102f., figs. 1-4, p. 105, fig. 6.

29. *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Art* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston),

rev. ed., 1963, p. 190, 194, no. 181.

30. K. Philips Jr. in *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita* 1966, p. 17., figs. 20-21.

31. *American Journal of Archaeology* 73 (1969), pl. 80, fig. 4.

32. A re-examination of the Getty Etruscan stone sculptures has convinced me that the tufa, in its texture and particularly in its bluish-grey color, is of the variety common to the Vulci area.

Until recently, no positively identified sculptural portraits of Gaius Julius Caesar were extant in America's collections¹. Now the J. Paul Getty Museum houses two images of the great dictator. In 1973, the Museum acquired Caesar Getty² and in 1975 Caesar Blücher³. Their presence in Malibu provides an opportunity for a review of the whole of Caesarian iconography⁴.

A natural starting point for this reappraisal is with the coins bearing Caesar's profile. Though specialists in ancient numismatics have established a sound classification for the coins of Caesar⁵, a fresh look at them from the art-historical rather than numismatic point of view may add some new evidence. Also, a closer comparison of the images on coins with those on gems and sculptures may shed new light on all the depictions of the emperor.

Although the most exact rendering of the actual features of Caesar should be found in representations of the man made during his lifetime, this is not always so. On the coin struck in 48/7 B.C. in Nicomedia⁶, a rather generalized face is shown, much more youthful than Caesar actually was at this date, (he was 52 or 53). Another coin, struck in 46 B.C. in Corinth⁷ exhibits some more individualized features, but it has little in common with later, better documented images. The short and straight hair for example, is completely different from the styles found on later coins. A parallel to the Nicomedia mint is to be found in the sculptured portrait of the youngish Caesar identified by V. H. Poulsen⁸ and known in two copies, Chiaramonti⁹ and Milles¹⁰. Here the expressive face bears none of the unmistakable advances of old age. However, these two copies present some slight problems. Both are works of the Augustan period, but they may reproduce an earlier original, for the style points to pre-Augustan times. Nevertheless, the possibility that we face replicas of a posthumous creation, or even a heavily edited version of an earlier work, cannot be excluded¹¹.

The denarii struck by Mettius in 44 B.C.¹² provide the best image of Caesar in his lifetime, and the coins are unanimously recognized as such. But is it really Caesar on the face of the Mettius denarii? Yes, and no. Age and past labors deeply mark his face, with the web of wrinkles on his neck witness to his active life. There is a

great deal of the portrait in this image, though some details contradict the view of Caesar reported by ancient sources. Ancient writers attest to Caesar's pleasure at the privilege granted to him of wearing the laurel wreath, for it hid his baldness. His vanity must have been equally soothed with his image on the Mettius denarius, for a mop of hair snakes over his pate like a thick and ill-fitting toupée. There is nothing of the individual in this detail since this same hair scheme appears on the imaginary portrait of the legendary king Ancus Marcius, on a coin struck in 59 B.C.¹³ Moreover, when designing the hair the artist seems to have disregarded the odd shape of Caesar's skull, a peculiar detail which the only "naturalistic" portrait¹⁴ shows to be idiosyncratic. This modification of the skull may be however, a purely numismatic convention, one which maintained the traditional balance between the head

The first version of this note was presented at "Ancient Coins", a weekend conference, 18, 19, October 1975, organized by the UCLA Extension and Numismatic Fine Arts, Encino.

Johansen: Flemming S. Johansen, *Antichi ritratti di Gaio Giulio Cesare nella scultura, Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 4, 1967, 7-68, pll. 1-27.

Vollenweider: Marie-Louise Vollenweider, *Die Porträtgemmen der römischen Republik* (1972, 1974)

1. The beautiful Stroganoff head in New York (B. Schweitzer, *Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik* 38, figs. 20, 80, 84) is not Caesar; the heads in Berkeley (below note 49); Toledo and one once in Worcester (below note 50) are not ancient.

2. See below note 42.

3. See below note 34.

4. See Johansen.

5. For bibliography see Vollenweider 243, sqq., especially the important contributions by A. Alföldi.

6. Johansen 8, fig. 1, p. 10; Vollenweider pl. 75.3.

7. Johansen 12, fig. 2, p. 10; see also note 23 below.

8. See Johansen 21.

9. Johansen 40 sq., pl. 22.

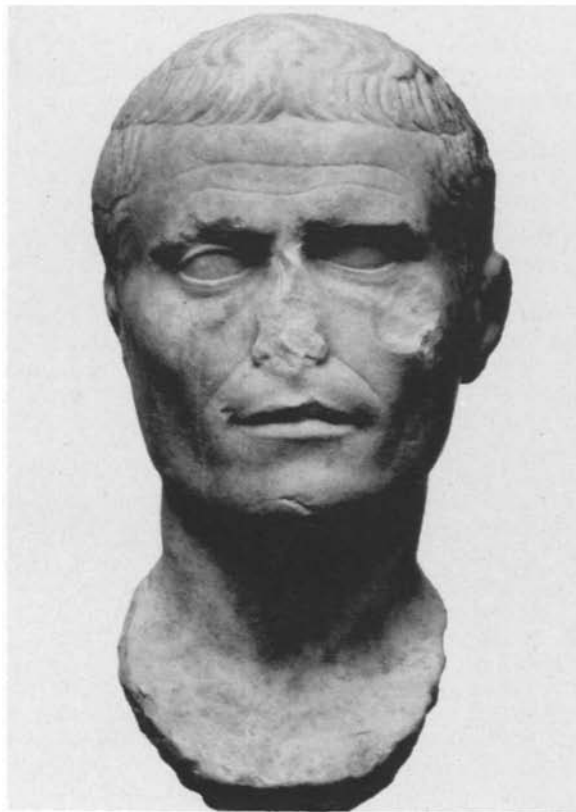
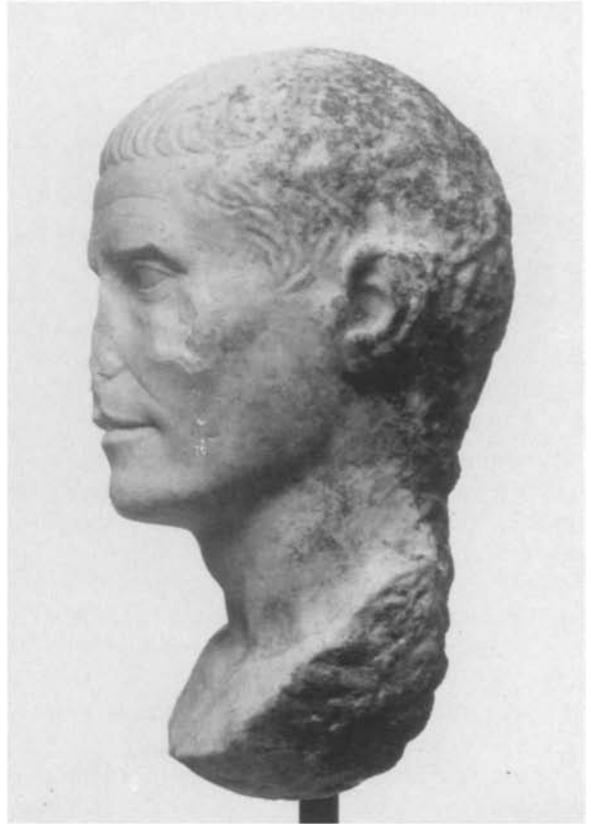
10. Johansen 41, pl. 23; *non vidi*; the skull seems to be irregular in a way comparable to the head from Tusculum.

11. An attempt to date the fragmentary intaglio in the Cabinet des Médailles (below note 32) in Caesar's lifetime (Vollenweider 120 note 2) does not seem entirely convincing.

12. Vollenweider pll. 75.5, 79, 80.9-10, 84.12, 85.7.9.14.

13. Observed by Vollenweider 121; see Vollenweider pl. 78.7.

14. From Tusculum, see below note 24.



1. Caesar Blücher. J. Paul Getty Museum

and the circular edge of the coin.

This denarius of Mettius was a numismatic success and it was used as the standard for all other issues of Caesar from the critical year 44 B.C. onwards¹⁵. This includes the poor effigies on the reverse of Octavian's coins¹⁶, as well as the pieces struck by Anthony in Gaul¹⁷, where Caesar's features are slightly modified to the striking looks of the Triumvir.

The general acceptance of the appearance of Caesar as codified by the Mettius denarii extends beyond numismatics. Simplified or embellished, most often with an added left hand, the image of Caesar is found on numerous intaglios and mass-produced glass pastes¹⁸. Several names¹⁹ had been proposed for this oft-repeated type until Marie Vollenweider convincingly demonstrated that only Caesar could have claimed such widespread popularity. Some of them were found in military camps. It seems probable that they belonged to the legionnaires faithful to their murdered leader. Two masterpieces of engraved gems reveal the same pose, but the head in both is much closer to sculptured portraits than to the stereo-typed numismatic type. The portraits of Caesar on the amethyst in New York²¹ and on the cornelian in Florence²² are far more life-like than ones on the coins and the glass pastes, and the artistic quality indeed is incomparably better. Both, but particularly the Florentine stone, share with the Mettius coin the deep wrinkles on the neck. On the other hand, both, but more so the New York gem, make no pretense at flattery in showing his bald head with its slightly flat contour. Caesar's age stands revealed in a much harsher light in these two gems, but the face still radiates strong will, superior intellect, in a word, greatness. This is how the man must have appeared to his time²³.

Among the sculptural portraits there exists only one which may go back to the very last year of Caesar's life, the head from Tusculum Castello d'Aglie²⁴, now in Museum of Antiquities in Turin. It is the least idealized portrait of the man. Two peculiar features offer nothing particularly attractive or glorious: the skull is flat on top, though two bulges break the surface, one on the left side of the crown, and the other on his right forehead. He still has some hair but it is clearly fast receding. As on the gem portraits the wrinkled neck registers, as is fitting for such an old campaigner, the years spent in campaigns in burning sun and freezing cold. This is the same idiosyncratic feature recorded on Mettius' coin. In other respects as well, the sculptured portrait agrees with the numismatic one, but the sculpture surpasses the official stylization of the coins, despite the more open revelation of age and deformities. The Caesar portrayed here is much more the successful general than the anointed ruler and it is understandable that this image found limited fortune in Imperial times. Though no exact replicas of the Tusculum type

are extant, two poorly preserved variants which seem to go back to the same prototype²⁵ possess the peculiar head shape and the deeply wrinkled neck.

Although literary sources report that many statues were erected for Caesar during his lifetime²⁶, it is impossible to identify the prototype of the Tusculum head and its variants with any of these. All three are later copies, the principal example from the Augustan period, and the others from a slightly later date.

Appianus reports, that at Caesar's funeral, a wax image of the murdered dictator was displayed close to the bier²⁷. This brings to mind the traditional practice of the Roman aristocracy; the manufacture of a death mask made to preserve the face of the deceased. It was to serve as a model for sculptural portraits and to stand among the ancestral images. Many portraits of venerable republicans were made in this way, although it is clear that in the process the image developed into more than a purely mechanical reproduction of the dead man. Indeed, the *facies hippocratica*, the drawn

15. Vollenweider pll. 78.2.3.4, 80.6.7, 81.4, 83.7, 84.2.4.11, 85.12 (44 B.C.); 80.3-5, 83.8-9, 84.6 (43 B.C.); 84.10 (42/1 B.C.).

16. Vollenweider pl. 85.6.

17. Vollenweider pl. 85.13.

18. Vollenweider pll. 80.8.12, 81.2.7-10.12, 82.1-12, 83.1-3, 84.1.3. 5.7, 85.1.2.4, perhaps also 86 (glass pastes); 84.9 (Cornelian); 86.6 (clay impression).

19. Johansen 12 ("a poet, Antisthenes, Aristotle, or Ennius"); see especially K. Kraft, *Jb. für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 13, 1963, 7 sqq., who successfully confused not only this issue but the whole iconography of Plato, Zeno, Aristotle and Menander.

20. *Ant. Kunst* 3, 1960, 81 sqq., *Gymnasium* 71, 1964, 508 sqq.

21. Vollenweider pll. 77, 78.1; identified as Caesar already in 1956 by G. Richter (*The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, no. 469).

22. Vollenweider pl. 80, 1.2.11.

23. Some other glyptic images may be mentioned here. A ring in the Louvre (Johansen 22 fig. 8, p. 13: Augustan; Vollenweider pl. 81.1-5), may be close to the prototype of the pastes (note 18 above). The gilded bezel of an iron ring in the British Museum (Vollenweider pl. 85.10) and its replica, a paste in Vienna (Johansen 23 fig 9, Vollenweider pl. 85.11) give a simplified image comparable to the coin minted in Corinth (above note 7). The amethyst in Syracuse (Johansen 21, fig. 7, Vollenweider pl. 85.5.11) may not be ancient (Johansen 13). The Blatner Coll. cornelian (Johansen 19 fig. 6, Vollenweider pl. 89.4-6.11) seems to be retouched, especially the eye may be enlarged; Caesar? The splendid chalcedony, private coll. (Vollenweider pl. 76) can hardly be Caesar. For the amethyst Pauvert de la Chapelle Coll. in the Cabinet des Médailles, see below note 32.

24. Johansen 23 sq., pl. 16; recognized as a portrait from Caesar's lifetime by E. Simon, *Arch. Anz.* 1952, 134.

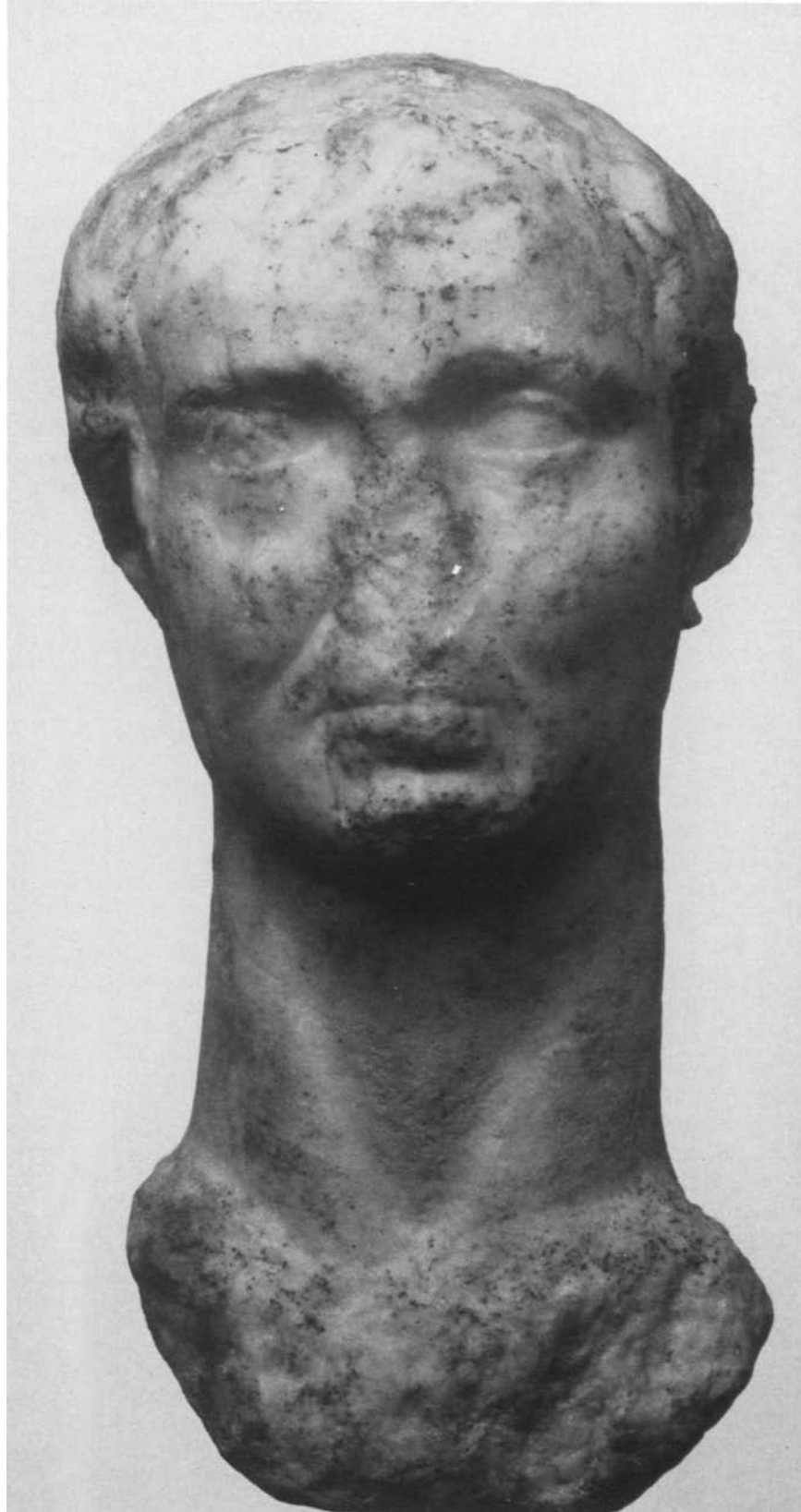
25. Johansen 24, describes rightly as variants of the same prototype:

1. Woburn Abbey, 35 sq., pl. 17 (*non vidi*).

2. Florence, Palazzo già Antinori, 36, pl. 18 (*non vidi*). The head in Munich, Residenz (36 sq., pl. 19) must go back to the same prototype; it is indisputedly ancient, but extensively cleaned and re-cut.

26. Johansen 13 sqq.

27. *de bello civili* II 147, Johansen 17.



2. Caesar Getty



3-4 Caesar Getty

look with which death's grip marks the face, was only partially maintained in artistic elaboration. While in fact rigor mortis marks the entire face, in the sculptured portraits this remains only in the prominent cheekbones, sunken cheeks, and to a lesser degree, in the mouth which is often pulled down at the corners. The eyes, on the other hand, are rendered by the standard schema of the classical tradition, with no trace of a dead man's protruding eyelids or the general deformation of the orbital. The best illustration of this procedure is the powerful portrait of the Republican in Dresden²⁸, aptly compared by Schweizer to the mortuary masks of Canova and Moltke²⁹.

Among the extant types of Caesar, there is one portrait which fits well into this category, the portrait of Camposanto³⁰ and its replicas³¹. The hollow cheeks, marked nasal-labial line and the drooping skin around the corners of the mouth reflect unequivocally the

the mechanical cast and the creative superiority of the artist in rendering the individual.

30. Johansen 22 proposes another chronology; 28 sq., pl. 7.

31. 1. Pitti, Johansen 29 sq., pl. 7.

2. Leiden, Johansen 30, pl. 8; despite the poor preservation an excellent, perhaps the best replica. Caspar Kern kindly provided the information that there is no other evidence for Nijmegen as the alleged provenance than the circumstance that some objects from the same collection came from this site. Some other items in that collection originated from Grosseto, a much more suitable provenance for this portrait.

3. Capitoline Mus., Magazino, Johansen 31, pl. 9; very good replica.

4. Terme, Johansen 31, pl. 10; identical with ex-Villa Mattei (Johansen 31 sq., pl. 13) as demonstrated by U. Jantzen, *RM* 75, 1968, 170 sqq.

5. Rieti, Palmegiani coll., Johansen 32, pl. 12 (*non vidi*), Johansen 23: "di scarsa importanza"

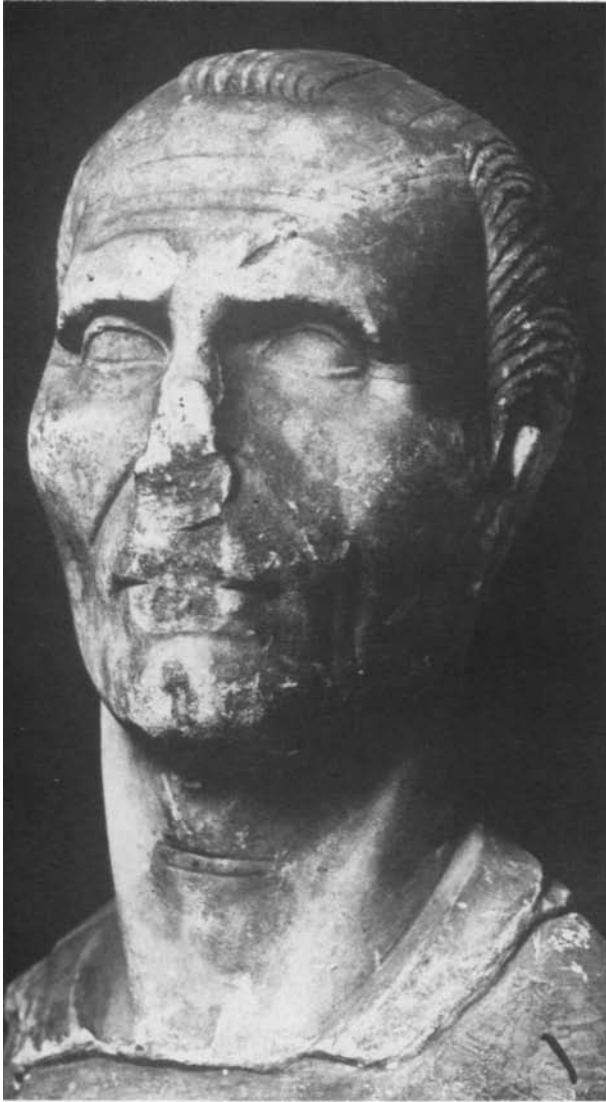
6. Nottingham, Johansen 33, pl. 14 (ravaged, *non vidi*).

7. Mus. Torlonia, Johansen 39 sq., pl. 21. The apparent differences result from modern reworking (as stated already by J. Sieveking, *B.Ph.W.*, 1936, 413).

The head in Leningrad, Johansen 31 sq., pl. 11, Voščina, *Le portrait Romain (Musée de l'Ermitage)*, (1974), 137 sq., no. 3, is not ancient, even if repaired and repolished. I was able to examine the piece in 1956; the same conclusion was reached later by R. Bianchi-Bandinelli who communicated it to the authorities of the Hermitage. The head Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 565, Johansen 33 pl. 15.0 (id. 23, 29 "variante"), does not represent Caesar; broken from a relief?

28. B. Schweitzer, *Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik*, 114ff, figs. 175, 176 and figs. 11-14.

29. cf. E. Buschor, *Das Portrat* (1960) 25 sqq: a confrontation of the death mask of Schiller with his sculpted portrait and of the "life" mask of Goethe with his painted portrait reveal the limits of



6. "Caesar" Florence, Museo archeologico

funerary mask. The artistic interpretation of the mask effect in this case applies to more than just the classically inspired eyes. Compared to the likenesses of Caesar made in his lifetime, the whole face here seems spiritualized and ennobled: the peculiar skull has been gently rounded off, the wrinkles on the neck smoothed, and the hair has been given the fullness of the prevailing Augustan fashion. Even if the imprint of death has been softened, the basis must have been the funerary mask, for in the fragmentary amethyst in the Cabinet des Médailles³², which must have also derived from the same original as the Camposanto type, the *facies hippocratica* is even more apparent. The head of Caesar from Thasos³³, crowned with head raised heavenwards in the tradition of Hellenistic rulers, stems from the same prototype. Caesar Blücher³⁴ (fig.1), which originally belonged to a statue *capite velato*, reveals an



5. Caesar Getty

idealization of the features while softening the death mask appearance. It is not an intimate portrait, it needs to be viewed from some distance. The outstanding

32. Johansen 7, fig. 5 (p. 12: reproduction of the type Chiaramonti); Vollenweider pl. 75.1-24 (see above note 11).

33. Johansen 43, pl. 27.

34. 75.AA.46, Pentelic marble, H. 36.5 cm (fig. 1).

L. Curtius, R. Boehringer. *Eine Freudesgabe* (1957), 153 sqq.

M. Borda, *Gaio Giulio Cesare* (1957), 58.

R. Herbig, *Kölner Jb. für Vor-und Frühgeschichte* 4, 1959, 7 sqq.

R. Herbig, *Gymnasium* 72, 1965, 167 sqq.

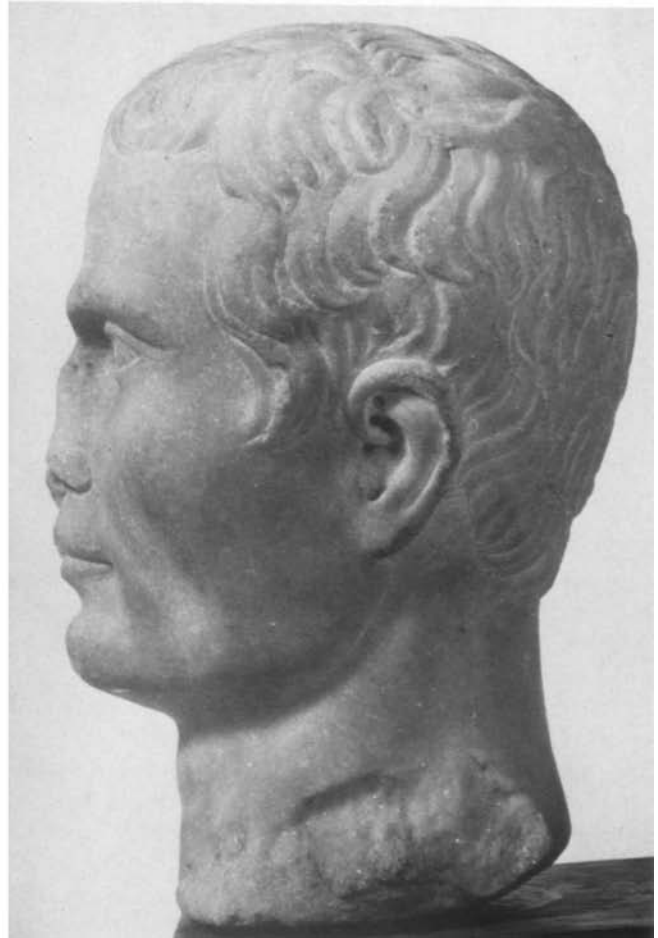
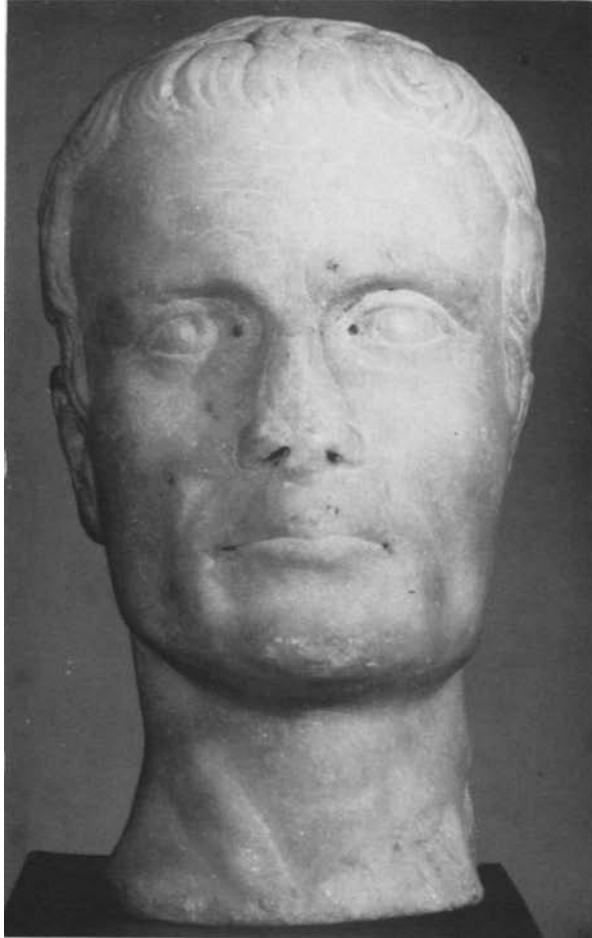
Recent Acquisitions of Antiquities, J. Paul Getty Museum, June 1 - Sept. 3, 1969, no. 7.

While the preceding publications accept the identification with Caesar, the following deny it:

V.H. Poulsen, *Les portraits Romains I* (1962), 11.

Johansen (1967) 54, no. 10.

U. Jantzen, *RM* 75, 1968, 172.



7-8 "Caesar" Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts

quality of the carving makes it probable that the slightly under life-size statue could have been part of an official *lararium* or other interior shrine, perhaps intended to represent him as Pontifex Maximus. On top of the head L. Curtius discusses two protruding *puntelli* with a small circular indentation in the middle, which served for the three-point technique of copying, eloquent evidence that the face reproduces a known type.

The Camposanto type is also the basis of the Caesar Chiaramonti³⁵, known in four replicas³⁶ of which the name piece is far superior, despite its restorations. The emotive and spiritual qualities of the man, emphasized already in the Camposanto type are here developed further to show the charisma of an inspired hero who could lead a whole empire by the balanced application of strength and wisdom: no more the dictator, but Divus Iulius. This portrait must have been created as an instrument of Augustan propaganda, with a close parallel in Virgil's allusions to Caesar and surely serving to embody the values Augustus wanted attributed to himself.

A fragmentary statue in Copenhagen³⁷, which seems to fall in between the last two types illustrates how the Chiaramonti type stems from the Camposanto type. While the larger than life-size quality is already present, there still remains much of the funerary mask.

With the development of the empire the Chiaramonti Caesar may have proved inadequate to embody the divine founder of the Empire. A more inspired, superhuman image was necessary to justify the pretensions of a Nero or a Domitian. Thus, it is likely that in the second half of the century the prototype of Caesar Contarini³⁸ was created, if not in the Eastern

35. Johansen, 21, dates the original in the last year of Caesar's life, comparing the denarii of Mettius.

36. 1. Vatican, ex-Chiaramonti, Johansen 25 sq., pl. 1.

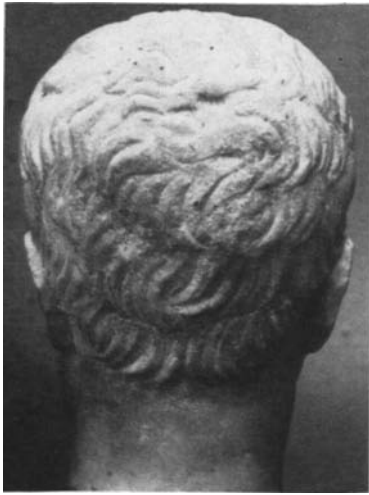
2. Turin, Johansen 26, pl. 2.

3. Vienna, Johansen 27, pl. 3.

4. Parma, Johansen 27, pl. 4, (*non vidi*)

37. Johansen 28, pl. 5A and 5B.

38. Johansen 42, pl. 25.



9. "Caesar" Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts

Mediterranean, then surely in the environs of the strongest Hellenistic tradition. Caesar here is personified as *Dominus* and *Deus*, an image comparable to the followers of the great Alexander, or to such as the ruler in Museo delle Terme.

The Caesar Contarini presents such a flamboyant personality that its authenticity has been questioned. The modest variant in Sparta³⁹ is welcome proof not only of its authenticity, but of the limitations of archaeologists.

The Caesar Contarini raises the man to the level of the gods: the next step was to present him in colossal scale. Ironically, this was done under the modest Trajan; Caesar Farnese⁴⁰ possibly stood in Trajan's forum alongside several other over life-size heads⁴¹. The features of the great dictator in this portrait go back to

the Camposanto or Chiaramonti prototypes. Caesar's baldness is emphasized more than in earlier portraits, but this individual touch merely enhances the divine nature of the otherwise detached Olympian appearance, and to some extent Trajan's features were amalgamated into the basic scaffold of Caesar's face. This aspect is still more striking in Caesar Getty⁴², (fig. 2-5), originally inserted into a *togatus* statue. The kinship between Caesar and Trajan is more apparent here, for the idiosyncratic facial traits have been blurred in favor of a more general, impersonal representation. This Caesar comes allegedly from Asia Minor and a comparison with the Casesar Farnese brings out clearly the differences between the style of Italy and the prevailing Hellenistic tradition of the Eastern Mediterranean. Nevertheless, both Trajanic Caesars correspond perfectly to the profile of the dictator on a commemorative issue struck under Trajan⁴³, confirming the basic consistency in the various portrayals of Caesar during this period, whether in colossal statues, or on coins.

No later versions of Caesar's portrait are known as yet but some may still come to light. The existence of a Trajan from late antiquity⁴⁴ also suggests the strong possibility of a Constantinian Caesar. However, Caesar found fortune again in the Renaissance and later. A complete list⁴⁵ of modern portraits of the Caesar lies beyond the scope of the present note, but some samples may illustrate the rebirth of interest in the great man.

The head inserted into the statue⁴⁶ in the Palazzo Senatorio corresponds very well to the tradition of the Trajanic Caesar but is a better parallel to the art of Renaissance portraiture. An unpublished over life-size head in Florence⁴⁷ may be slightly later than this one. The head in the Vatican⁴⁸, considered to be another genuine Caesar type, is a rather tormented Baroque version, while a mutilated piece in Berkeley⁴⁹ is a product of the Neo-Classical trend of the late eighteenth century. The Napoleonic period seems to have been particularly prolific in the production of Caesars, and the subsequent reign of his namesake nephew is to be credited with the rich harvest of forgeries which has continued until the present day.⁵⁰ An under life-size "Caesar" in Budapest⁵¹ may be an appropriate conclusion. It dates from about 1800 and was originally part of a complete set of the *XII Roman Emperors*: a matching Claudius survives.⁵²

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Malibu

39. Recognised as a variant by Johansen 24, ib. 42, pl. 26.

40. Johansen 37, pl. 20 A.B.; Johansen dates the colossal head to the 17th century, but the surface and the workmanship are ancient.

41. I owe this suggestion to Paul Zanker.

42. 73.AA.46; marble with large crystals, cleaned with acid; behind the ears, intentionally not finished; back flut. H. 53.5 cm.

43. Johansen 14, fig. 3.

44. H.P. von Blanckenhagen *Jd I.* 53, 1944, 45 sqq.

45. Johansen 53-50, 52-58 lists many examples (including the ex-Luxburg head).

46. Johansen 38, pl. 20 C.D.

47. Museo archeologico, no inv. no.; I owe the photograph to G. Maetzke.

48. Sala a Croce Greca, Johansen 41, pl. 24 A.B. (considered as ancient).

49. Re-cut and restored, but not ancient; Johansen 44, pl. 24 C.D. (considered as ancient, a variant of the head in the Vatican, Sala a Croce Greca).

50. e.g. the head in Toledo, Johansen 53, no. 2 ("Basel Art Market") 57, no. 47 ("Toledo"), or the head once exhibited in Worcester, Johansen 58, no. 53.

51. Szépművészeti Múzeum, 69.4A; I owe the photographs to J.Gy.Szilagyi.

52. Rochester (NY), Memorial Art Gallery, cf. EG.Suhr, *AJA* 59 (1955), 319 sqq., pl. 94.1-2.

P.S. Some more Caesars from Greece should have been noted. A youthful bust from Thera is a variant of the Campo Santo type (Th.Lorenz, *AM* 83 1968 243 sqq., pls. 84 sqq.) A head in Corinth is a welcome confirmation of the type Farnese (A.Datsoulis-Stavrides, *AAA* 3 1970 109 sq.) A well-known head in Athens, National Museum, was identified by A.Datsoulis-Stavrides (*Delt.* 28 1973 [1975] 243 sqq.) as a local variant of the Caesar from Tusculum. Two other candidates may not represent Caesar (N. Bonacassa, *Boll. d'arte* 46 1961 7 sqq., id. *Ritratti Greci e Romani della Sicilia* 1974 nrs. 32 and 33).

A FLAVIAN RELIEF PORTRAIT
IN THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

In the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum at Malibu is an over life-sized male portrait head, inv. 74.AA.37. The sculpture is of a white, medium-grained crystallized marble. The head, which measures c. 29 cm. in height, is split almost vertically along a line through the left eye to the chin. The end of the nose and the outer rim of the ear have been broken off. The right brow, right eye, chin, and upper and lower lips are somewhat more abraded than the left brow and the area of the right cheek. Also evident are minor nicks over the surface of the head. Recent chips are visible on the right front of the neck. In the front part of the skull above the forehead is a rectangular hole c. 2.5 cm. deep, with an adjoining groove to the right. Toward the back of the head is another hole in which remains part of an ancient bronze insert. To the left of this, a small part of the head has been broken away. The cranium, which swells slightly, has been left somewhat rough, unlike the rest of the head, which is smoothly finished. Patina and root marks over the entire surface of the sculpture indicate that the piece had lain buried in the ground. A vein in the marble extending from the right temple to the chin absorbed impurities from the soil, leaving the brownish streak now visible on the right cheek.

The carving of the work is of a high quality. The sculptor has defined well the underlying bony structure of the face. The prominent brows, deep-set eyes, double chin, and taurine neck of the Getty head reveal a powerful individual. These facial features strongly suggest a Roman rather than a Greek¹. At the base of the neck the marble turns out slightly, indicating that the figure was wearing a garment. Although the precise type of vestment can no longer be determined, we may reasonably conjecture that the garment may have been a toga, if this individual were a Roman.

Seen from the front, the head appears to be unnaturally compressed, too narrow in width to have been carved originally in the round. The remaining

portion of the left side of the face also projects forward in comparison with the right side. This asymmetrical arrangement of the features indicates that the head had once been part of a monument carved in high relief. The cleavage down the left side of the head is slightly curved. That the portrait had been removed as a unit is indicated by several nicks obviously made by a chisel along the contour of the skull. In his description of this piece, E. Bielefeld has suggested that two bronze clamps were used at the front and back of the head for the purpose of remounting it². However, if the head had actually been joined to another block by clamps, the cut surface would have been worked to insure a smoothly fitting join, instead of being left rough and irregular as it has been. Moreover, the unfinished surface of the cleavage indicates that the head was never remounted. In fact, the piece has been neither recut nor reworked in any way. Therefore it is apparent that the holes and grooves in the head were simply for the attachment of some form of bronze ornament, such as a laurel wreath³. The fact that the surface of the cranium above the zone for the attachment of headgear is roughly finished might suggest that hair was painted in this area. However, both the region of the right temple where hair would normally grow, and the rolls of fat high up on the back of the neck where one might also find hair, are smoothly finished. Likewise, the presence of a vein extending diagonally across the right temple along the normal hairline indicates that the sculptor did not intend to represent hair in this area. It is thus very likely that the person depicted was bald. The surface of the cranium may have been left rough because it would have been partially or entirely hidden by the headgear if the relief were set above eye-level⁴.

We do not know when or why the Getty portrait was separated from its background⁵. The patina covering the cut surface of the sculpture, including those points at the top of the skull where the chisel struck, does

1. E. Bielefeld, *Kunstwerke der Antike (Galerie der Antike)* (Frankfurt 19) 21, has also noted that the head appears to be of a Russian racial type.

2. Ibid., 20: "Später hat man ihn indessen wieder auf einen (Relief?-) Hintergrund montiert."

3. J. Frel, *Recent Acquisitions. Ancient Art, the J. Paul Getty Museum*.

Malibu, California (Pullman, Wash. 1974) no. 21, is also of the opinion that the Getty head wore a laurel wreath.

4. Note the treatment of the bald priest from the Athenian Agora: E.B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora I: Portrait Sculpture* (Princeton 1953) 12, pl. 3.1

5. Possibly the head had been removed in antiquity.

indicate, however, that the removal and burial of the head had not been recent⁶. The possibility that the Getty head formed part of a grave relief cannot be entirely ruled out⁷. However, because of the size and high quality of carving of the Getty head, it is more likely that this sculpture had been part of an official relief of considerable importance⁸.

The facial features of the Getty portrait are not distinct enough to be attributed to a specific historic personage. Because the absence of hair precludes the dating of the head on the basis of hairstyle, a general date for the work can be established only through stylistic analysis of the carving of the sculpture. Because of its realistic features, Bielefeld dated the Getty head to the first third of the first century B.C., comparing it with portraits of the late Hellenistic world and of the late Roman Republic⁹. However, closer parallels may be found with the portraiture of the Flavian period, as, for example, two portraits of Vespasian in the Terme Museum in Rome—one from Minturnae¹⁰, another from the Tiber¹¹. The reaction in imperial portraiture to Augustan and Julio-Claudian classicism¹² and the consequent revival of Republican “realism”¹³ which came with the death of Nero and the accession of Galba in 68 A.D. were carried over into the portraiture of the earlier Flavian period¹⁴. The realism of the Getty head is apparent in the heavy, prominent brows, hollowed

cheeks, thick lips, and baggy, thickly lidded eyes, wearily set in their cavernous sockets. However, except for the slightly furrowed naso-labial lines, the head is devoid of the linear quality common to so many Republican portraits¹⁵. A tendency toward fussiness of detail in the carving of facial features, characteristic of Republican portraiture in general, is apparent even in those portraits cited by Bielefeld for comparison with the Getty sculpture¹⁶, such as the late Hellenistic heads from Delos¹⁷, and the Hellenistically influenced works from Italy, such as the General from Tivoli in the Terme Museum¹⁸ and the Cicero in the Capitoline Museum in Rome¹⁹. By contrast, meticulous details have been smoothed away in the Getty head. The face has been modeled to create an undulating surface, especially evident in the rolls of fat at the nape of the neck and in the flabby flesh beneath and at the sides of the chin. The fluid transitions of the facial planes produce an “illusionistic” effect difficult to capture in photographs.

The manner of carving, as well as the provenience of the marble, suggests that the Getty head is a product of one of the larger sculptural centers of western Asia Minor, such as Pergamon or Ephesus: both had a long-standing tradition of sculptural workshops where sculptors continued to be active in the first century A.D.²⁰ The predominant artistic currents in Rome itself

6. On the basis of present scientific analysis we cannot determine with any degree of precision how long the head lay buried.

7. Cf. Bielefeld, op. cit., 23, who states, “Zwar konnte man meinen, dass es einst einem Grabrelief angehört habe. Aber Grabstelen dieses Ausmasses sind uns aus dem Hellenismus wohl unbekannt.”

8. Such as the second century A.D. reliefs from the Great Antonine Altar of Ephesus in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna: C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, Mass. 1968) 95-123. See also Frel, op. cit.

9. Bielefeld, op. cit., 21f.

10. Inv. 128571: G. Daltrop, U. Hausmann, and M. Wegner, *Die Flavier (Das römische Herrscherbild II.1)* (Berlin 1966) 79f, pl. 1.

11. Inv. 53: B. Felletti Maj, *Museo Nazionale Romano: I ritratti* (Rome 1953) 80, pl. 142; Daltrop, et al., op. cit., 79, pl. 8a-b.

12. A tendency away from the cold “classicism” of the Augustan and earlier Julio-Claudian period in favor of the richly picturesque modeling of past Hellenistic sculpture may be noted already in the portraiture of the emperors Claudius and Nero. See, for example, the head of Claudius in the Lateran Museum in the Vatican (inv. 9950): A. Giuliano, *Catalogo dei ritratti romani del Museo Profano Lateranense* (Vatican City 1957) 33f, pls. 21.36a, 22.36b-c; the portrait of Claudius from Samos in the Tigrani Museum (no. 44): R. Tolle-Kastenbein, *Samos XIV: Das Kastro Tigani* (Bonn 1974) 174, fig. 327; and the head of Claudius in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (inv. 2443): N. Bonacasa, “Ritratto di Claudio del Museo Greco-Romano di Alessandria,” *RomMitt* 67 (1960) 1340f, pl. 40.1, and H. v. Heintze, “Bildniskopf des Kaisers Claudius,” *Helbig* II (Tübingen 1966) 421. For the portraiture of Nero we may note as examples the head of Nero in the Terme Museum in Rome (inv. 618): Felletti Maj, op. cit., 73, fig. 123, and U. Hiesinger, “The Portraits of Nero,” *AJA* 79 (1975) 119, pl. 24, figs. 43, 44; and the head of Nero in the

Worcester Art Museum in Worcester, Mass. (acc. no. 1915.23): Hiesinger, op. cit., 120, pl. 25, figs. 45-47.

13. Sculptural portraits of Galba are not common because of the shortness of his reign and because of the destruction of many of his statues after his death. For the problems involved in Galban portraiture, see E. Fabbricotti, *Galba (Studia Archaeologica 16)* (Rome 1976). The best evidence for Galban portraiture is numismatic; coins represent him in a very realistic manner, in keeping with his image as restorer of the *res publica*: *BMC* I, nos. 1-236, 267-272, pls. 52-54, 55.13-14, 55.16-19, 56.1-9, 58.1-5, 58.7, p. 399f, nos. 38 bis, 163 bis, 227 bis.

14. For Flavian portraiture, see the entire study made by Daltrop, et al., op. cit.

15. See, for example, Vessberg, op. cit., 173ff, and B. Schweitzer, *Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik* (Leipzig 1948).

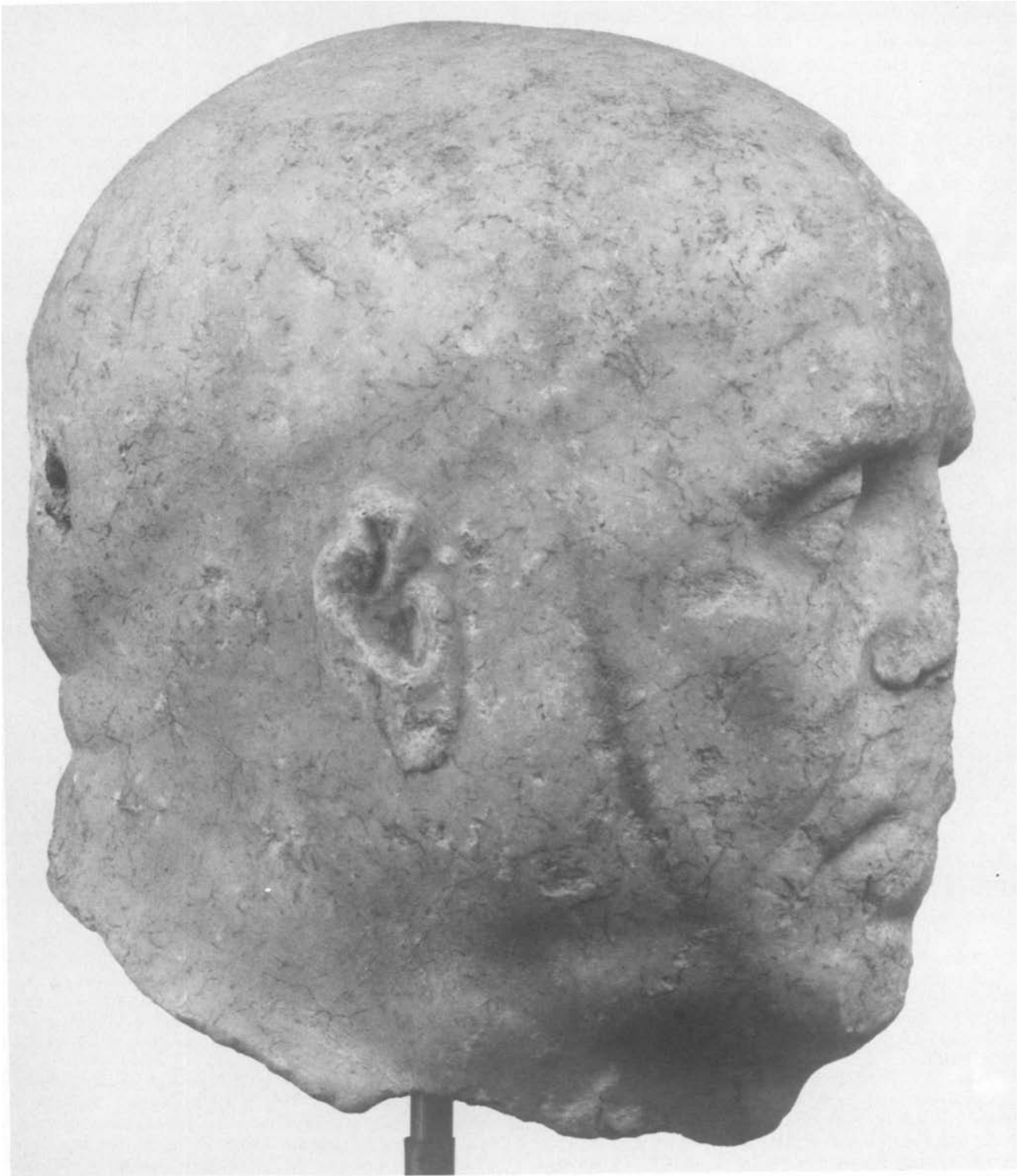
16. Bielefeld, supra, n. 12.

17. For Delian portraiture, see C. Michalowski, *Delos XIII: Les Portraits Hellénistiques et Romains* (Paris 1932) 11-14, 25-32, pls. X-XI, XXI-XXIV; C. Hafner, *Späthellenistische Bildnisplastik* (Berlin 1954) 32f, 62f, 68, pls. 11.MK5, 26.A6, 28.A14.

18. Inv. 106513: Vessberg, op. cit., 273f, pls. XLVIII-XLIX; Schweitzer, op. cit., 63f, figs. 63, 65-66; H. v. Heintze, “Statue eines Feldherrn,” *Helbig* III (Tübingen 1969) 220f.

19. Inv. 589: A. Hekler, *Die Bildniskunst der Griechen und Römer* (Stuttgart 1912) XXXIII, fig. 160; Schweitzer, op. cit., 92-94, 101f, figs. 142, 146; L. Laurenzi, “Il ritratto di Cicerone,” *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Ciceroniani I* (Rome 1961) 108, pl. VII.9-10; H. v. Heintze, “Kopf des Cicero,” *Helbig* II (Tübingen 1966) 169.

20. J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (London 1966) 6, 10f, 15, 20-30.



during the Flavian period soon spread in both official and private portraiture throughout Asia Minor and other parts of the Roman Empire²¹. In modelling and in

the summary treatment of facial details, the Getty head

21. Giuliano, *op. cit.*, 168; Inan and Rosenbaum, *op. cit.*, 15.

is similar to an over life-sized head of Vespasian from Pergamon in the Bergama Museum²². A comparable manner of carving and treatment of expressive facial features are also evident in private portraits of the Flavian period from Asia Minor, such as the head of a man from Samsun in the Istanbul Museum²³, a male portrait from Ephesus in the Selcuk Museum²⁴, and the head of a man from Magnesia ad Sipylum in the Manisa Museum²⁵.

Since the large size of the Getty portrait suggests that it could have been part of some official commemorative relief in which an emperor was represented, we must consider whether any emperor might possibly be depicted by the head. Vespasian, whose portraits correspond stylistically with the Getty sculpture, was sixty years of age when he became emperor in 69 A.D.²⁶; the individual represented by the Getty portrait appears to be of about this age, but the features of the Getty head are not at all like those of Vespasian. In fact, the only emperor of the first century A.D. who does resemble the subject of the Getty portrait is Vitellius, who was fifty-seven years of age at the time of his death in 69 A.D.²⁷ The features of Vitellius are known from his coinage²⁸ and from two marble heads,

one in the Bardo Museum in Tunis²⁹ and the other in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen³⁰.

However, there are several problems with an identification of the Getty portrait as Vitellius. The correspondence of the facial features of the Getty head with any of the numismatic or sculptural representations of Vitellius is not close enough to make certain an identification as Vitellius. In all of his images, Vitellius is depicted with short hair, while the man represented in the Getty head appears to be bald. The historical circumstances of Vitellius' short-lived reign also argue against his being depicted in the Getty sculpture³¹. In the East, no coins are known to have been minted in Vitellius' honor, and no sculptural portraits of him, or even statue bases inscribed with his name, have thus far been found³². Therefore, it would seem that any resemblance between the Getty head and the known portraiture of Vitellius is coincidental. Rather than an emperor, the Getty head may represent some lesser personage of the Flavian period, such as a magistrate, important private citizen, or non-officiating priest³³, who might also have been depicted wearing a laurel wreath³⁴.

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22. Inv. 157: Inan and Rosenbaum, op. cit., 67, pl. XVI.2-3; Daltrop, et al., op. cit., 78.

23. Inv. 4753: Inan and Rosenbaum, op. cit., 102, pl. LIX.1-2.

24. Inv. 605: *ibid.*, 123, pl. LXXXII.1-2.

25. Inv. 26: *ibid.*, 162, pl. CXVI.3-4.

26. Suet. *Vespasian*, 2.1, 24; Dio Cass. 66.17.3; Eutropius, 7.20.

27. Suet. *Vit.* 18; Tac. *Hist.* 3.86; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 8.5; Eutropius, 7.18. Cf. Suet. *Vit.* 3.2, who indicates that Vitellius was born in 15 A.D.; on this contradiction, since Suetonius gives his age at death as fifty-seven, rather than fifty-four, see L. Holzapfel, "Romische Kaiserdaten," *Klio* 15 (1917) 106-108. J. Frel, op. cit., has considered the possibility of a Vitellian identification for the Getty head.

28. BMC I, 368-393, 400; H. Jucker, "Vitellius," *Jb. d. Bernischen Histor. Museums* 41-42 (1963) 332-344.

29. Inv. 1784: Jucker, op. cit., 344-355, figs. 36-38.

30. M. Gjodesen, "De tre Kejsere. Litteraere og plastiske Portraetter," *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 16 (1959) 28-44, figs. 19-21; Jucker, op. cit., 352-357, figs. 39-41.

31. Though Vitellius was hailed as emperor on the second and third of January, 69 A.D., by the legions of Germany (Tac. *Hist.* 1.57), he was not recognized throughout the Empire as emperor until his acceptance by the Senate on April 19 (*CIL* VI, no. 2051.85). However, on the first of July, the legions in Egypt declared for Vespasian (Tac. *Hist.* 2.79), who was then in command of the Jewish campaigns (Tac. *Hist.* 1.10; Suet. *Vespasian*, 4.5-6; Joseph. *BJ*, 3.6-8; Dio Cass. 63.22.1^a), and by the middle of July the entire East had sworn allegiance to Vespasian (Tac. *Hist.* 2.81). It is therefore improbable that after mid-July any monument would have been erected in honor of Vitellius in Asia Minor. In fact, news of Vitellius' acceptance by the

Senate would probably not have reached Asia until some time in May. Even in the interim between May and July support for Vitellius in the East is not attested. Moreover, the governor of Asia, Fonteius Agrippa, was a Vespasianic rather than a Vitellian loyalist [Tac. *Hist.* 3.46; *CIL* III, no. 6083; see also A. Bosworth, "Vespasian and the Provinces. Some Problems of the Early 70's A.D.," *Athenaeum* N.S. 51 (1973) 67f].

32. It has been suggested that a small rock crystal head from Caesarea in ancient Syria is a possible portrait of Vitellius: J. H. I., "A Portrait of Vitellius (?) in Rock Crystal," *QDAP* 1.4 (1932) 153f, pl. LVIII. Though the facial features vaguely resemble those of Vitellius in frontal view, the profile is definitely that of Trajan. I thank J. Frel for his suggestion that the local artist who carved this small crystal was most likely copying the features of Trajan from a coin.

33. An officiating priest in Roman ritual would have appeared with his head veiled: I. S. Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (MAAR 22) (Rome 1955) 30, 42-44.

34. For the use of the laurel in Roman rituals, see A. Steier, s.v. "Lorbeer," *RE* XIII.2 (1927) 1441, and Ryberg, op. cit., 47, n. 46. Various figures in the sacrificial and processional friezes of the Ara Pacis, for example, wear laurel wreaths: Ryberg, op. cit., 30, pls. XI-XII. Some portraits from Asia Minor also show individuals wearing an elaborate turban-like crown: G. Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos* V.2: *Monumenti di scultura* (Rhodes 1932) 100, pl. VII; Inan and Rosenbaum, op. cit., 124f, 128, 171f, pls. LXXXIII.4, LXXXV.1-2, LXXXVII.1-2, CXXVI. This turban-like headdress was apparently worn only by local priests in the Greek East (*ibid.*, 124f, n. 2) and would not have been worn by the individual represented in the Getty portrait if he were of a Roman racial type, as he seems to be.

CYCLADIC FIGURINES IN THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

The Getty collection in Malibu includes four Cycladic figurines; two are complete examples and two are heads, broken at the neck. These pieces were acquired in 1971 from the New York art market. Nothing is known about their precise provenance. This study will present all four pieces and will discuss the comparative material in an attempt to place the Getty pieces within a stylistic and chronological framework. Recent research on the subject of Cycladic figurines (Renfrew, Doumas, Caskey) makes the task of attribution feasible.

CATALOGUE:

I. Marble Cycladic figurine, 71.AA.124 (Folded arm type)

Dimensions:*

total h. .209 m.
1. of head from crown to chin. .039 m.
w. at shoulder .066 m.
w. at elbows .053 m.

w. at waist .041 m.
w. at ankles .023 m.
thickness at neck above break .009 m.
thickness at breast .022 m.
thickness at stomach .022 m.
thickness at knee .018 m.
thickness at ankle .009 m.

Condition:

The figurine is relatively intact with a few minor breaks. The nose has lost its original contour and is fractured along the central projecting line. An uneven break in the neck separates the head from the body just above the shoulders. This break has been repaired in modern times with a metallic pin. The top of the head is

* Break at neck repaired with metal dowel creates separation between neck and body resulting in an inaccuracy of approximately 2 mm. in the vertical measurements.

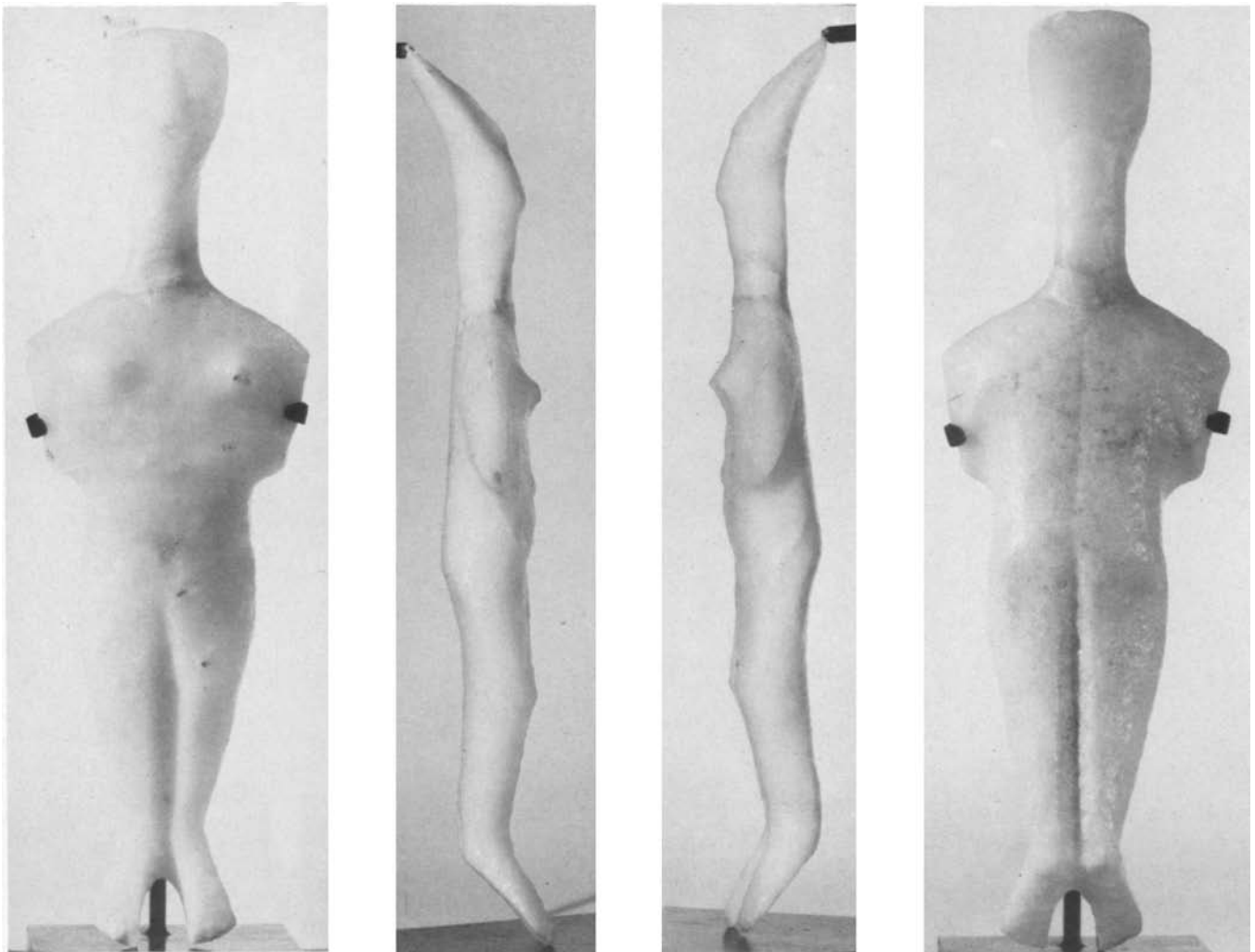


Fig. 1. J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AA.124

slightly worn on the back. The remainder is in good condition except for a chip out of the right heel extending to the left heel.

Description:

The figurine is similar to standard folded arm figurines (FAFs) featuring a head which tilts backward, a frontal torso, arms folded over the stomach, knees bent slightly forward and feet which are placed at a downward slanting angle and do not carry or support weight.

Distinctive markings on the front include a series of horizontal and vertical lines indicating the placement of the arms on the torso. A slight irregularity of the surface on the centre front of the arms may indicate the **fingers**. The stomach is marked by a curved line above the pubic area which is not otherwise defined. The legs are separated by a groove but are not free-standing. The

knees and ankles are defined by slight incision and modelling. The feet project outward from an indentation at the ankle and are separated at the instep. Toe incisions are particularly noticeable on the left foot.

On the reverse side, the head which slopes and tilts backward is finished in a flattened ovoid area at the crown. A wide inverted V separates the skull from the long neck. A sharper, equally wide V extends from either side of the lower neck to the spinal cavity which leads from the neck to the feet. From the back, the arms are distinguished from the torso by shallow, wedge-shaped grooves.

Microscopic examination revealed that the surface is badly corroded and mottled, especially on the top side. The crystalline structure of the marble is obvious at the break on the heels.

Ultraviolet examination determined that the surface had been varnished.

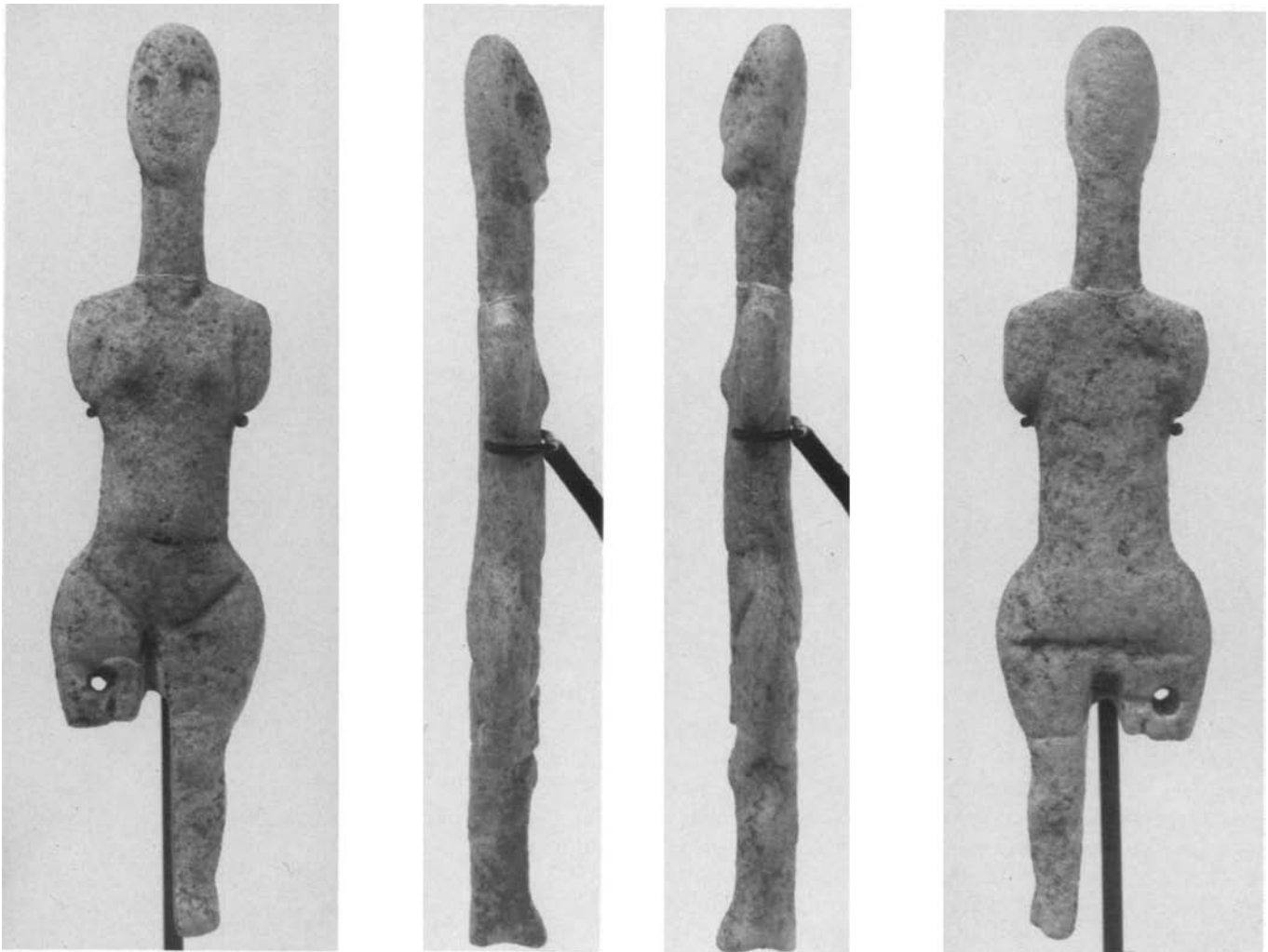


Fig. 2. J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AA.128

II. Marble Cycladic figurine, 71.AA.128
(standing type)

Dimensions:

total h. .142 m.

l. of head from top to chin .026 m.

w. at top of shoulder .031 m.

w. at arms .032 m.

w. at hips .135 m.

thickness at neck .009 m.

thickness at breast .010 m.

thickness at torso .010 m.

Condition:

There is a recently repaired break at the juncture of the neck with the shoulders. The right leg is missing and was repaired in antiquity. A hole has been drilled

into the right thigh and a second drill hole must have been placed in the missing portion of the leg allowing the two pieces to be clamped together. This is a standard form of repair in the Bronze Age. The left leg is broken at the same level as the right leg but the break and the repair are both more recent.

Description:

The head is vertically aligned and ovoid. The face is carefully modelled and less stylized than figurine I. The chin projects forward slightly. The eyes are marked by hollowed out sockets on either side of the nose which is a projecting stub. Below the nose, a slightly concave area indicates the placement of the mouth.

From the side, the shape of the head is somewhat small in proportion to the rest of the figure and seems to have been reworked or recut. The colour of the



Fig. 3. J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AA.125

marble is lighter at the top of the head. Observation under the microscope reveals that this surface is smoother in texture relative to the rest of the piece. Further observation under ultra-violet light confirmed that the head had been recarved within modern times.

The figurine is approximately the same thickness at all points. The total effect is flat and elongated, emphasized by a long thin neck. The shoulders slope outward and slightly downward. The arms are stumps on either side of the torso.

Incisions include a wide V marking the collar bone. Vertical lines separate the arms from the torso. The breasts are set widely apart and project from the body. The naval is indicated and incisions mark the pelvic area. The left knee and the buttocks are indicated by slight bulges.

Further observation under the microscope revealed scratchings on the right eye and the fact that some red coloration on the left eye is not paint. Ultraviolet observation suggests that the arms were retooled, in addition to the head, and the inside of the leg area was probably reduced as well as both sides of the crotch. The left foot shows signs of alteration where it was probably flattened. The break on the right leg and the drill hole fluoresced as ancient.

III. Head, marble Cycladic figurine, 71.AA.125 (folded arm type)

Dimensions:

maximum preserved h. .089 m.

h. from top of head to chin .070 m.

l. of nose .032 m.

w. at top of head .036 m.

w. at widest part of face, front .043 m.

d. of neck .020 x .028 m.

Condition:

The head is broken off at the point where the neck would have joined the shoulders. This fragment is otherwise in good condition. Some scratchings are visible around the nose. Original tool marks were noted on the back. The marble is discoloured to a rusty red. This may be paint or another type of incrustation and is especially pronounced on the front.

Description:

The shape of the head is rounded at the top, flattened into an oval. The temples are constricted and the contour of the face flares outward at the level of the nose reducing again on the chin, which forms a rounded U shape. The back side of the head is rounded, flares upward in profile and is flattened at the crown. The shape of the head recalls a stylized calyx.

Two incisions appear on either side of the back of the neck. These separate the skull from the neck and curve upward but do not meet. To the left of the nose, a cavity around a slightly raised area may indicate modelling of the eye.

The microscope revealed extensive reddish colour on the surface of the face. The scratchings around the nose break through the surface patina. Ultraviolet examina-

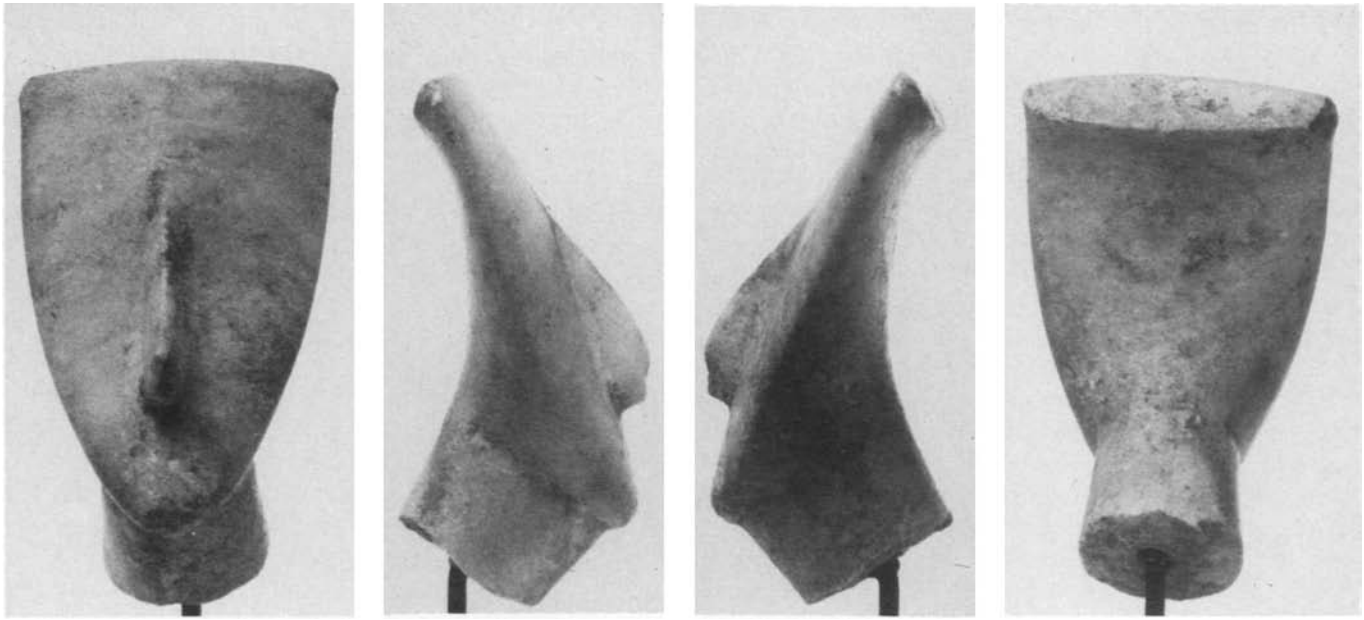


Fig. 4. J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AA.126

tion showed that the break on the neck is relatively recent and the nose area was indeed recarved as well as the chin line. The bulge and cavity on the left eye may be paint "shadows".

IV. Head, marble Cycladic figurine, 71.AA.126 (folded arm type)

Dimensions:

maximum preserved h. .086 m.
h. from top of head to chin .079 m.
l. of nose .032 m.
w. at top of head .051 m.
w. of head at bridge of nose .049 m.

Condition:

The head is broken off at the lower neck. The lower tip of the nose is fractured. The surface of the stone is very smooth on the front, rougher on the back. Some rusty-red discoloration is visible on the surface.

Description:

The head curves backward at a sharp flat angle. The chin is sharply V shaped when viewed frontally. The crown is marked by a flattened oval. The lines are angular, the surface treatment very flat, the modelling minimal. There are no incisions on either side. The nose projects sharply and features a long spine.

Microscopic examination showed a slight trace of reddish colour on the left side of the nose. Under

ultraviolet light the neck break appeared very old. The front surface may have been sanded. Therefore, if the piece was reworked, the coloration in the eye area cannot be ancient.

DISCUSSION:

The complete figurine I (71.AA.124) of the folded arm variety can be compared to a series of figurines from the cemetery site of Spedos on the island of Naxos. This piece is comparable to number 108 from Spedos illustrated in Zervos (1957:107). Other similar pieces are to be found in the Goulandris collection (Doulas 1968:98-99, 102; fig. 104a, fig. 207).

The two heads (71.AA.125 and 126) are also to be classified as belonging originally to folded arm figurines and are quite possibly from the same site as they display similar stylistic features. According to Renfrew's classifications, Spedos FAFs belong to the Keros-Syros or EC II culture which is contemporary with EB II in the rest of the Aegean (Renfrew 1969:9). The date range for EC II would be approximately 2500 to 1900 BC.

Spedos figurines are characterized by a flattened surface at the top of the head, distinctly flexed knees, few incisions, and feet which are not meant to bear the weight of the sculpture (Renfrew 1969:20). The surfaces are generally flattened and the contours sharp and angular.

The Spedos variety of FAF is of particular interest because it is the most common type. Certain features of the Spedos variety are more accentuated than in other

FAFs. Most FAF figurines have a straight vertical profile. The knees do not bend or are only slightly flexed; they are not usually marked by modelling and incision. The foot does not break at the ankle and project forward. Only the Kapsala variety (Renfrew 1969: ill. 2, fig. IV A) has some of the characteristics of the Spedos type but it is far more roundly modelled. The Dokathismata type (Ibid.: ill.3, IV B) has a similar foot. The complete Getty Spedos FAF is unusual in having broad, squared shoulders whereas the majority of these sculptures generally display narrower proportions (typically, Zervos 1957: 107, fig. 108).

The Spedos variety of FAF has been found all over the Aegean (Renfrew 1969:21) but is best known from the type site on Naxos. Spedos figurines come primarily from cemeteries and therefore probably had a function closely associated with death and funerary practices. Because of the differences between these and other **FAFs and because of their distinctive features, close analysis of the form of this variety might reveal some clues as to the function of the type or the sculptor's intent in using the convention revealed here.**

The folded arms of this type of figurine may have their iconographical origins in a pose in which the hands are placed under the breasts (as in the Plastiras type, see below and Figurine II). But the folded arms in the Spedos variety enclose the composition and do not emphasize the breasts or sexuality in general. **Furthermore in the Spedos group the breast tends to be very small and the pubic area is frequently not emphasized or incised.** Therefore, the sexual aspect of these figurines is diminished. The figurines are obviously not meant to stand on their own because of the formation of the feet. This has nothing to do with the ability of the sculptor as many Cycladic figurines are deliberately made to stand. The pointed feet must be explained by the limitations imposed by the artistic convention. The convention, if read simply and, we hope, correctly, demands a figure which does not stand, which has flexed knees, head slanting backwards and arms folded across the stomach. This position may well represent a stylization of the standard position of bodies in tombs. Cycladic burials of this period are inhumations and the skeletons are commonly flexed with the knees drawn up and the arms folded across the chest or stomach. This correlation between the figurines and Cycladic burials suggests that the figurines may personify death or may be effigies of the dead person. The latter possibility is the less likely as most of the figures are female. They must in some way represent death or sleep.

Naturalistic figurines found in neolithic contexts are generally thought to refer to fertility and reproduction. The abstraction of such naturalistic forms to a more simplified expression which remains iconographically human, female and organic may reflect a philosophical

and religious development. Where the figurines were originally symbolic of the eternal birth, death and reproduction cycles of nature, their abstracted descendants may refer by extension to the death and rebirth of mankind, or of the soul, as a mirror image of the physical organic cycle. The female form is as appropriate for symbolic use here as in the earlier context. **Such belief in an afterlife is obvious considering the multiple grave gifts in Cycladic tombs and the elaborate construction of the tombs.** Only some Cycladic figurines are to be explained by this suggested theory; it does not apply universally to the many different known types, including the male figures.

The Spedos variety as seen in Figurine I is in marked contrast to Figurine II (71.AA.128). This piece can be classified as a Plastiras type of figurine belonging to the earlier EC I Grotta-Pelos culture (Renfrew 1969:6). The sample of known Plastiras figurines is very small (Renfrew 1969:6). Renfrew (ibid.) lists twelve known pieces of the female Plastiras type to which the Getty figurine can now be added.

Plastiras figurines are more naturalistic than the later Spedos variety and may have evolved from a steatopygous neolithic standing type (Preziosi and Weinberg 1970:4). Plastiras figurines do not display folded arms. The features of the face, eyes and mouth in particular, are marked and modelled. The soles of the feet are flat and horizontal and can support weight. The profile of the body is vertical and flat with no flexion at the knees. The head is ovoid and does not tilt backwards as in the Spedos type. The pubic area is clearly defined by incision and the legs are separated. The Plastiras figurines usually have arms flexed at the elbows with fingers touching under the breasts, across the stomach. In the case of the Getty figurine the arms are stumps delineated by incisions on either side of the torso front and back. There are no traces of the arms ever having been carried across the front on this example.

A group of four Plastiras figurines comparable to the Getty piece were recently found within a single tomb by Doulas in the Plastiras cemetery (Doulas 1963:283, Renfrew 1969:6). However, it is possible that Plastiras figurines were used in contexts other than funerary. The fact that the Getty piece was repaired in antiquity suggests that the figurine might not have been used exclusively in a burial context. One would hardly open a tomb to repair an object! The fact of the repair implies a different sort of original or continuous use (Mylonas: 1959). Therefore, this type of figurine appears to be **different in function from the Spedos FAFs and the indication of its use as seen in the repair gives some idea of a possible difference in function as well as find context.**

These four Cycladic pieces in the Getty collection represent an important and interesting addition to the

small quantity of European prehistoric art in Southern California museums. The two figurines and the two heads are of excellent quality and workmanship. They are undoubtedly originals as the microscopic and ultraviolet examinations revealed. This is important to establish as Cycladic art has frequently been forged in

recent times primarily because the artistic conventions of this prehistoric period are especially appealing to the modern sensibility. The simplicity of these four pieces, the beauty of their finely modelled contours and their linear style made them excellent examples of the art of the Cycladic culture.

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A GORGON ANTEFIX FROM GELA IN THE J.P. GETTY MUSEUM

The figure of Medusa had a continuous, even if not yet fully explored position in the iconography of Greek art¹. In spite of early developed artistic conventions, she is an instructive vehicle for a study of the changes of artistic, representational concepts from the early 7th c. B.C. through the Hellenistic period. The literary tradition connects the Gorgon sisters with the West and with the Hesperides², a fact which it is interesting to link with the immense popularity of the image in the Western part of the Greek world, in Magna Graecia as well as in Etruria. The Greek Sicilian centres have all yielded rich remains of Gorgon representations: Syracuse, Selinus, Agrigento and last but not least Gela, the likely

provenience of the architectural terracotta under consideration in this article. (Figure 1)³

Inv. nr. 72.AD.124. Antefix with a Gorgon head.
Height 18.5cm. *Width* (preserved) 19.5cm. *Thickness*
(Above nose) 2.7cm. (at neck) 1cm. Red clay with

1. For early uses in art see e.g. *Enc.dell'arte antica* (v.Gorgone) and H. Besig, *Gorgo und Gorgoneion in der archaischen Griechischen Kunst*. Diss. Berlin 1937.

2. Hesiod, *Theog.* 274ff.

3. I want to thank Prof. Jiří Frel, Curator of the Antiquities of the J.P. Getty Museum for his kindness and assistance in my work on this item.

whitish slip⁴, dark red coloring preserved on eyes, hair, mouth, cheeks, necklace and earrings. Plastically rendered wrinkles at the corner of the eyes, tongue hanging out, no tusks. The breaks are all on the left side: all hair under the ear is gone as well as all hair at the side of the ear with a small exception next to the earring. Section of the top part of the covertile is extant behind the diadem.

The antefix is part of the rich and important terracotta tradition of ancient Gela. The lack of marble on Sicily encouraged the use of other materials for sculpture⁵ and the good supply of clay around Gela resulted in a local production from the earliest years of the settlement in the 7th c. B.C.⁶ The apotropaic power embodied in the image prompted the creation of a number of various architectural Gorgons in Gela, of different size and of different time⁷. The category of our antefix is, although well known, however, probably the least well published of all⁸.

After its foundation by Rhodo-Cretan settlers in 689 B.C.⁹ the city grew to see its greatest wealth and territorial expansion during the last half of the 6th c. and especially the early decades of the 5th c. B.C. under the tyrants Kleandros, Hippokrates and Gelon. It is to the fervent building activity of these years that one must attribute the small sanctuary of our antefix. And the Carthaginian attack of 405 B.C. destroyed it along with the rest of the city.

P. Orsi started archaeological investigations early this century¹⁰. While he concentrated on the necropolis of ancient Gela, he nevertheless explored and touched upon most of the key points of the city itself. When after a long period of silence work was resumed in 1951 under D. Adamesteanu, P. Orlandini and the superintendent for Agrigento, P. Griffo, the efforts were focused primarily on the ancient acropolis, centered around the cult of Athena Lindia¹¹. The city was located on an extended hill stretching along the seaside roughly in SE-NW direction¹². The southern section of this hill, the area of the so-called Molino a Vento, ending with the bluff towards the river Gelas, constituted the acropolis in archaic and classical times. It is here we may look for the building of the Gorgon antefix. While the southern tip of this acropolis with the 6th and 5th c. B.C. Athena temples have been well published¹³, we are not equally fortunate for the northern end of the acropolis.

A characteristic of the religious life and architecture of Gela in the archaic and classical period was a great proliferation of small religious shrines, both inside and outside of the acropolis¹⁴. Many of them cannot (or have not yet) been assigned to particular functions or particular divinities. Our only clue to the existence of some of these structures lies in the remains of architectural terracottas, which was a fundamental,

abundant and colorful feature of Gela 6th and 5th c.

4. Cf. the remark about Sicilian terracottas made by R.A. Higgins in *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum*, vol. 1 (Text), 297: "When [the clay is] orange, it is frequently covered with what looks like a green or cream slip. This is in fact not a slip, but a discoloration of the surface, presumably brought about by something in the soil, since the same phenomenon is to be seen on Rhodian and Attic imports found in Sicily." This assumption is supported by the Getty antefix where this cream color appears not only on the front but also on the back side, as well as over the dark red paint on cheeks and forehead locks.

5. See P. Orsi, "Gela. Scavi del 1900-1905." *M.A.* 17 (1906) 571-75.

6. For the patterns of importation and local production see e.g. P. Orlandini, "Gela. Topografia dei santuari e documentazione archeologica dei culti." *Riv. dell'Ist. Naz. d'Archaeologia e storia dell'arte*, n.s.15 (1968) 28.

7. The list does not include items later discussed in this article. For the Gorgoneia of the 6th c. B.C. Athenaion, both large and small, see L. Bernabo-Brea, "L'Athenaion di Gela e le sue terrecotte architettoniche", *Ann. Sc. Arch. Atene* 27-29 (1949-51) 71-74; for other examples in various locations of the city, see Orlandini (above note 6) 35 fig. 16; *N.S.* 1956, 237, 386f, Fig. 2; *N.S.* 1962, 369-74, fig. 46, 47, 48; also E.D. Van Buren, *Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia*, Washington. 1923, 138 nr 7, 154 nr 14, 160 nr 1.

8. One interesting Gelan antefix category extant in several well preserved examples is a Silen type: see esp. *N.S.* 1956, 229ff., *N.S.* 1960, 112ff., *Arch. Class.* 6 (1954) 251-66, 8 (1956) 47, 5 (1953) 1-9, 14 (1962) 42-45; good illustrations in P. Griffo - L. Matt *Gela*, N.Y. Graphic Society 1968, fig. 95 and in E. Langlotz *Ancient Greek Sculpture in Southern Italy and Sicily*, N.Y. 1965 fig. 33.

9. J. Bérard *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile*, 2nd ed. Paris 1957. On the debate over the date of the foundation see H. Wentker "Die Ktisis von Gela bei Thukydides", *R. Mitt.* LXIII (1956) 129-39; on the oldest pottery found see *N.S.* 1962, 345f. and P. Orlandini, *Cronache di archeologia e storia dell'arte* 2 (1963) 50-56.

10. "Gela, Scavi del 1900-1905", *M.A.* 17 (1906) 1-766.

11. The published material since the reopening of excavations in 1951 is a maze of preliminary reports and occasional areas of more complete presentations, done primarily by D. Adamesteanu and P. Orlandini. The most profitable beginning is P. Orlandini (above note 6), whose long article is a summary of the work up to that point. The general excavation reports for the work from 1951 and on are found in *N.S.* 10 (1956) 203-414; *N.S.* 14 (1960) 67-246; *N.S.* 16 (1962) 340-408; P. Orlandini, *Kokalos* 7 (1961) 137-144; 12 (1966) 8-35, 13 (1967) 176-79; *M.A.* 44 (1962) 1-78; in addition to the articles on segments of material already mentioned (above note 8) the following have most bearing on our topic: D. Adamesteanu, *Rev. Arch.* 49-50 (1957) I:20-46, II:147-80; *Arch. Class.* 10 (1958) 9-13. Two excellent monographic size treatments are: L. Bernabo-Brea (above note 7) and E. Meola, "Terrecotte orientalizzanti di Gela" *M.A.* XLVIII (1971) 1-85) P. Griffo - L. Matt, *Gela*, N.Y. Graphic Society 1968, is for a general public, but has excellent illustrations and a useful, discussive, but not complete bibliography p. 213-16 (only through 1963); other bibliographies - none complete - are found in *N.S.* 1960, 68f., *N.S.* 1962, 340 and in *Enc. dell'arte antica* (v. Gela).

12. Maps are found in *N.S.* 1956, 203, Orlandini (above note 6) Tav.I, and Griffo-Matt (above note 11) 171f. For the distribution of sanctuaries and habitations over the hill in different periods, see *N.S.* 1962, 341-45.

13. *Op.cit.* above note 7.

14. See *N.S.* 1956, 373, 386; *N.S.* 1960, 87f; *M.A.* 1962, 4ff.

B.C. architecture. When Orlandini remarked in 1968¹⁵ that the architectural terracottas already had been published in various places, this was certainly true for most important categories *except* for that of our Gorgon antefix, which regrettably has so far been the subject only of preliminary and eclectic references. I want to review these references briefly:

1. N.S. 1956, 237. A fragment (10x10cm) comprising the eye, ear, forehead locks and part of the tresses of the right side. It is said to be identical with nr 3 (below) and of a common type; it is dated to the beginning of the 5th c. B.C.
2. N.S. 1956, 247, fig. 1, 2 (243). A fragment (10x10cm) comprising the lower right side of the face, half of the mouth, no tongue, tresses in five concentric rows. "On the basis of their hair treatment" it is surprisingly enough dated to the second half of the 6th c. B.C.; surprisingly because it is clearly part of our type, at least as far as a photographic investigation alone can determine. I would tentatively suggest that the date be moved down, or at least that the fragment be considered an early antecedent of our type.
3. N.S. 1956, 271f, fig. 11a. A fragment (height 11.5cm) comprising the eye, upper part of the ear, forehead, locks and diadem of the right side; it is reported to be of the same type as above, nr 1, i.e. of an early 5th c. B.C. date.
4. N.S. 1956, 273. A report of one complete example of nr 3 (above) plus fragments of more. The reference to the identical nature of an antefix in the British Museum¹⁶ verifies the type beyond a doubt.
5. *Rev. Arch.* 1957, 46 fig. 17 (45). It is complete except for the locks beside and below the left ear; the upper part of the antefix is repaired from several pieces and a small section of the diadem is missing. It seems to be the very same one as the example reported to be in the Museum at Gela in another source¹⁷. Since, however, no provenience within the city is given for nr 5, we cannot tell whether it is in fact also the same as the complete example mentioned above as nr 4.
6. N.S. 1962, 373f., fig. 46, 47 and 48. Several small fragments were found in close connection, which need more thorough sorting than is possible here. Let it suffice to point out that fig. 48a, said to be of the same type as in the British Museum, cannot possibly qualify for that, since there is a wavy area outside the forehead locks instead of a flat diadem. On the other hand, fig. 47a, a small fragment, could possibly be of our type and should not, as is done, be combined with 48b which has neither earrings nor wrinkles by the eye.

What can these examples tell us about the location of

the building which they once decorated? The pieces are not consistently concentrated around the remains of a single, identifiable building¹⁸, although they all come from the acropolis area. Generally speaking they are, however, from the northern half of that area, and in view of the important findings of nr 3 and 4, perhaps we can suppose a structure somewhere in the vicinity of the Heraion as the location of these Gorgons¹⁹. Possibly they belong to more than one building. This is as far as one can take the analysis only relying on bibliographical information.

We will now turn to other known examples of this antefix type to be found in collections outside of Sicily:

- A. British Museum inv. nr 1137²⁰.
- B. Two examples on the Swiss art market in 1975²¹.
- C. One example from a private collection deposited in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen²².

Since all of these are in fair state of preservation it is possible to make at least a preliminary stylistic comparison between five examples: one from the Getty Museum, one from the British Museum, one from the Museum in Gela and two from Switzerland. Even a study based only on photographic evidence, such as the present one, reveals that the antefix in the Getty Museum and the two from Switzerland must come from the same mold. The shared irregularities are of convincing nature and include the following features: the left ear slightly larger than the right one, the same off-centre part of the forehead locks, irregular size of the forehead locks and irregular placing of a strip of hairband under each ear²³.

15. *Op.cit.* (above note 6) 20.

16. See below note 20.

17. G. and V. DeMire-F. Villard, *Sicile grecque*, Paris 1955, plate 77.

18. The following locations are connected with the references quoted (cf the maps above note 12):

- 1) Between Calvario and Molino a Vento (more to the south than the Heraion)
- 2) Carrubazza, i.e. east central slope (opposite side from the Heraion)
- 3) Municipio platform, i.e. the Heraion area
- 4) Same as in nr 3.
- 5) No location given (identical with nr 4?)
- 6) NW of the Athenaion.

19. See Orlandini (above note 6) 31-33. It is stated p.31 that the many later building phases have eliminated every trace of the sanctuaries themselves.

20. See Higgins (above note 4) Text vol. 309, Plate vol. nr 155. E.D. van Buren, (above note 7) 144 nr 7) 144 nr 36.

21. *Galerie Heidi Vollmoeller, Zurich*, Catalogue of 1975 year's sale of ancient art. One antefix is on the cover, both are illustrated and described p. 12.

22. Unpublished, observed by the author in July 1976 but not studied.

23. On the other hand the paint traces on the diadems are different: from what little can be seen on the Getty example (a line at lower left side); all three from the same mold appear to have had a different painted pattern: on one Swiss example (nr 56) a zig-zag pattern is clearly seen on the photo.

Another slight variant is constituted by the British Museum antefix²⁴. There one finds five rows of tucked up tresses below the ear (instead of four), the maximum width of the face in relation to the maximum height is greater, making for a broader face, the strip of hairband under the right ear is surrounded by hair, making it a less prominent feature, the lower curves of the tresses join the chin and neck in a slightly different manner, further out to the side.

A third variant is found in the example from the Gela Museum²⁵. It is closer to the Getty variant than to the one in the British Museum, but it shares one feature with the latter, namely that the earrings are larger than on the Getty example. The tresses have here only four rows, as does the Getty antefix, but they are differently arranged.

These preliminary distinctions raise many interesting questions concerning types and their variants²⁶, repeated capacity of a mold and of the latitude allowed in differences of shape and coloring between repeated items of a given structure. In the absence of a more complete publication of the material it is premature to even speculate about possible series or stages of revetment containing our antefix.

One additional interesting side to the whole question of Gorgon types in ancient Gela should be mentioned. As part of an apparently recurring tendency there have been found archaizing examples based on our Gorgon antefix dating from the Hellenistic period²⁷. These terracottas, probably from a secular building, testify to the popularity of this particular Medusa rendering.

When you in addition find four reduced size, archaizing Gorgons, clearly derived from the antefix type, fastened onto the rim of a well²⁸, you feel yourself in the presence of a canonical force which indeed makes you wonder about the importance of the building the antefixes originally belonged to, or - for that matter - about the artist who created the successful archetype.

In conclusion, a few remarks about the inherent stylistic qualities of the antefix, especially in the larger context of Magna Graecia. In the lively and quite independent Sicilian coroplastic tradition, Gela was one of the chief centres of manufacture. Here is produced in the first quarter of the 5th c. B.C. an unusually humanized Gorgon face²⁹. Not only are the tusks and snakes gone - they never had an important role even in 6th c. Gela - but the sense of form has clearly classical flavor. This is noticeable both in the general stringency of the proportions of the face as well as in details such as the modelling of the nose and the planes of the eye. Old monstrous, iconographical conventions are in this gorgoneion juxtaposed to a more sensitive plasticity, a not surprising phenomenon in this period of transition, although it is an early appearance in the Medusa image. Also the earrings and the diadem are transferred from a very different tradition, namely that of the Ionian kore. Perhaps we can suggest that these humanized-feminized features, so characteristic of the Gelan Medusa are due to an Eastern Aegean influence primarily channelled through the mother city, Rhodes³⁰. In the rendering of the hair we might feel closer to Attic ideas. The synthesis, however, is thoroughly Sicilian.

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24. The discernible paint on the diadem is here instead a band of alternate light and dark squares.

25. De Mire - Villard (above note 17) plate 77 and *Rev. Arch.* 1957, 45 fig. 17.

26. See Higgins (above note 4) 4f; for a systematic treatment of the procedures and classifications of small coroplastic items, see R.V. Nicholls, "Type, Group and Series: A Reconsideration of some Coroplastic Fundamentals", *B.S.A.* XLVII (1952) 217-26.

27. *N.S.* 1960, 171, fig. 96 (dimensions 18 x 22 cm). A particularly noticeable difference from the early 5th c. B.C. archetype is seen in the curved eyebrows. See also P. Orlandini, "Il gusto per l'imitazione dell'antico nella Gela del IV-III sec. av. Cr.", *Arch. Class.* X (1958)

240-42. On the archaizing trends in the statues of Athena Lindia, see P. Orlandini (above note 6) 28.

28. *N.S.* 1060, 136 fig. 16.

29. In the many Gorgon antefixes from Tarentum the monstrous qualities were always strongly pronounced, and together with a disproportionately round and flat face they last well into the 5th c. B.C. See e.g. C. Laviosa, "Le antefisse fittili di Taranto", *Arch. Class.* 6 (1954) 217-50, also E.D. van Buren (above note 20) Plate XII, fig. 55-60 from Tarentum.

30. Cf Rhodian female heads in e.g. R.A. Higgins (above note 4) plates 139, 140, 141 and 147.

UN BOL EN ARGENT À MALIBU

En 1921, Matteo della Corte publia les trouvailles faites dans la villa romaine de N. Popidius Florus, située aux abords de Boscoréale¹. On a pu tracer le plan de la villa. Les trouvailles sont entrées dans la collection de la Signora Zurlo-Pulzella; outre des fresques qui ornaient à mi-hauteur les parois peintes en jaune, deux mosaïques en noir et blanc, un pied de table ainsi que des vasques en marbre et trois lampes en terre cuite, celles-ci comprenaient un assez grand nombre de vases et d'ustensils en bronze. La plupart de ces vases se trouve à présent dans le J. Paul Getty Museum à Malibu. Le Musée possède même quelques pièces intéressantes qui ne figurent pas dans la publication, entre autres trois vases en argent: une coupe profonde à deux anses et une passoire², puis le bol qui fait l'objet de la présente étude (figs. 1-5)³. Je suis reconnaissante envers M. Jiří Frel, conservateur des antiquités du J. Paul Getty Museum, qui m'a confié la publication de cette belle pièce.

Le bol montre le modèle profond, sans épaule ni col et sans rebord accentué, qui, en Egypte, a été d'usage fréquent pendant l'époque hellénistique⁴. La forme, arrondie à la base, s'élargit graduellement vers le bord supérieur. Celui-ci est lisse, à l'exception d'une ligne gravée, horizontale, aux deux tiers de la hauteur.

Tel qu'il est conservé, le vase se compose d'une enveloppe, décorée à reliefs, et d'un intérieur lisse, coulé séparément. Les deux parties sont soudées au bord qui fait partie de l'intérieur. Originellement, le vase avait en plus deux anses, posées verticalement, et un pied.

Des traces évidentes font preuve qu'autrefois, les anses étaient attachées en bas, entre les deux scènes, c'est-à-dire, en dessous de l'endroit où les queues des oiseaux ornant la panse, se rencontrent; en haut, elles reposaient sur le bord en se divisant vers la gauche et vers la droite. En outre, des traces au centre de la rosette à huit feuilles, décorant le fond extérieur du vase, témoignent de l'apport d'un pied, perdu à présent⁵.

La décoration du bol comprend, sur la panse, des scènes de la vie des cigognes et, contre le fond, la rosette mentionnée. Les bords bien accentués des huit feuilles de la rosette se recourbent légèrement vers le centre; le reste de leur contour est sommairement indiqué. Au dessus de la rosette, une ligne horizontale en relief sépare le fond du vase de la panse; elle signifie le terrain où les scènes se déroulent. Celles-ci représentent, des deux côtés du vase, à gauche et à droite d'une plante centrale, une paire de cigognes, soit au combat avec un serpent, soit s'occupant de leur toilette⁶.

La face la plus mouvementée, probablement le devant du vase (Figs. 1-2), montre une grande cigogne qui tourne la tête en arrière, le bec ouvert pour se débattre contre un serpent; celui-ci, enroulé autour des pattes de l'oiseau, fixe le regard sur son adversaire. A gauche de la plante centrale, l'autre cigogne recourbe le long cou; elle lève le bec entrouvert pour arranger ou pour nettoyer les plumes de l'aile gauche, déployée contre le fond. Sur le revers, les cigognes se tiennent plus tranquilles (Figs. 3-4). Celle de gauche retourne la tête,

1) M. della Corte, *NSc* XVIII (1921), figs. 12-20.

2) La coupe porte à l'intérieur un médaillon gravé, composé de quatre cercles concentriques autour d'un motif de losanges, puis deux groupes de cercles concentriques, l'un au bord, l'autre entre le bord et le médaillon; les anses recourbées sont légèrement surélevées ("chicken-bone handles"). —La passoire, de forme ronde, a une poignée que se termine en col de cygne recourbé.

3) Mus.Inv. 72.A1.33—H.: 7.3 cm; diam. au bord supérieur: 10.3 cm.

4) *BABesch* XLV (1970), 132.—L'étude citée s'occupe surtout des bols hellénistiques en verre doré.

5) M. Jiří Frel a confirmé la présence de traces des anses et du pied, traces que l'on ne découvre pas sur les photographies.

6) Il n'est pas certain que les échassiers représentés ici soient vraiment des cigognes. Les ailes pendantes, où les plumes caudales sont nettement indiquées, font plutôt penser à des craniches: cf. J.H. Breasted, *Geschichte Aegyptens* (Phaidon, 1936), pl. 214. D'autre part, les craniches se nourrissent uniquement de plantes et d'herbes, tandis que les cigognes aiment les petits serpents, les grenouilles etc. Il faut croire que l'artiste a observé attentivement des luttes de cigognes et de serpents, mais qu'il a reproduit les oiseaux selon une image qu'il avait dans la mémoire, ou d'après un exemple.



Fig. 1-2 Bol en argent, J. Paul Getty Museum 72.A1.33



Fig. 3-4 Bol en argent, J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AI.33

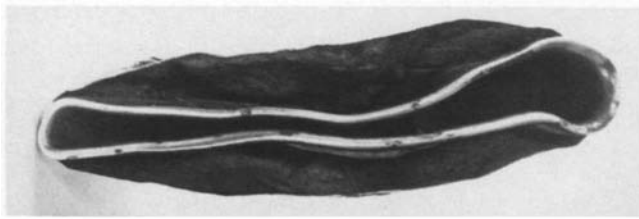


Fig. 5 Bol en argent, J. Paul Getty Museum, avant la restauration

picotant entre les plumes de son dos, la cigogne à droite se baisse pour attaquer un petit serpent dont la tête à bec ouvert exprime l'angoisse. Les plantes au centre s'élèvent d'un calice composé de deux hautes feuilles à pointe recourbée; sur le devant, ce calice sort à son tour d'une corolle de feuilles dentelées. Les longues tiges portent de grands fruits qui font penser à des épis. Ici et là, des petits oiseaux ou des insectes de format exagéré sont assis sur les tiges⁷.

Le thème montrant les échassiers dans leurs occupations usuelles, est très aimé à l'époque hellénistique tardive et au début de l'époque impériale. Dans un article précédent, nous avons essayé de démontrer que, parmi les représentations conservées, il est possible de distinguer deux groupes qui montrent une différence considérable⁸. Le premier comprend des compositions où les échassiers et les autres oiseaux sont incorporés dans un véritable "paysage" de plantes aquatiques et d'arbres tronqués terminant en feuilles et en boutons; les scènes se déroulent sur toute la panse. Dans l'autre groupe, la composition est répartie sur les deux faces du vase; les échassiers y sont l'élément principal, tandis que le paysage est réduit à l'acanthé centrale⁹. Il paraît admissible de reconnaître dans le premier groupe le style alexandrin; l'attribution des vases du second groupe à l'influence artistique de l'Asie Mineure est appuyée par les représentations sur des vases en terre cuite de la fin du 1^{er} siècle av.J.-C., trouvés uniquement en Asie Mineure et en Russie Méridionale¹⁰.

Un bol, provenant de la Dacie, et deux vases de Boscoréale illustrent bien les deux genres (Figs. 5-6)¹¹. Un troisième groupe qui se situe à l'époque augustéenne en montre, pour ainsi dire, une fusion. Les vases de la Pierpont Morgan Library à New York sont de beaux

7) Parmi les insectes, sur la face, on découvre l'abeille, les ailes levées, dans l'attitude de l'hiéroglyphe: cf. Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (1957), 477, Sign List, section L, nr.2.—Je dois les informations biologiques (voir aussi note 6) à mon amie Mlle Dr. Maria Rooseboom.

8) "Les vases en argent à échassiers conservés à Istanbul", *Mélanges Mansel* (1974), 335-343, voir p. 342.

9) Au début, l'ensemble est encadré parfois de deux maigres tiges fleuronées.

10) Dorothy Kent Hill, "Roman Jugs with Barbotine Decoration", *Journ. of the Walters Art Gallery* IX (1946), 68-79, voir figs. 1-3.

11) D. Tudor, *Germania* 37 (1959), 238-242, 2 figs. — M.A. Héron de Villefosse, "Le trésor de Boscoréale", *Mon.Piot* (1899), 73-77, nos. 11-12, pls. XI-XII; L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *Zilveren en gouden vaatwerk uit de Griekse en Romeinse Oudheid* (Ter Burg, Alkmaar, 1973), pl. XXXVI.



Fig. 6 Bol en argent, de la Dacie



Fig. 7 Vase en argent, de Boscoréale

exemples d'une pareille combinaison¹²: sur les deux faces de chaque vase, les échassiers sont l'élément principal de la composition, tandis que les plantes fleuronées rappellent l'ancien "paysage" dans une forme stylisée (Fig. 7).

Le bol du J. Paul Getty Museum entre dans la dernière catégorie. La symétrie de la composition sépare nettement les scènes des deux faces; les échassiers sont l'élément principal de la composition et la plante centrale rappelle l'ancien "paysage". Mais, à l'opposition de la monumentalité stylisée des scènes sur les vases de la Pierpont Morgan Library — monumentalité décorative, mais plutôt froide —, l'artiste qui a créé le bol de Malibu a su rendre la vie des oiseaux avec une grande vivacité; en même temps, il a eu l'oeil attentif pour la composition décorative. Par le naturel des représentations, son oeuvre rappelle de près l'ambiance paysagiste du bol de la Dacie que nous venons de mentionner (Fig. 5).

12) G.M.A. Richter, "Two silver cups in Mr. J.P. Morgan's collection", *Art in America* VI (1918), 171-176, figs.; id., *Journ. of the Walters Art Gallery* IX (1946), 75-77, figs. 8-11. — *Zilveren en gouden vaatwerk*, pl. XXXVII.

13) La même rondeur du relief caractérise le skyphos du rameur, trouvé à Pompéi: A. Maiuri *La Casa del Menandro e il suo tesoro di argenteria* (1932), 265-310, pls. XVI-XXIV; *Zilveren en gouden vaatwerk*, pl. XXXI. Plus tard, cette manière de rendre les détails se retrouve encore dans la représentation appauvrie des bols d'Istanbul, *Mélanges Mansel*, pls. 113-116.

Malheureusement, le bol de la Dacie est perdu; nous n'avons qu'une ancienne photographie assez vague et un dessin où les détails ont été copiés au mieux. La décoration naturaliste a recouvert la panse en une frise continue: une grande cigogne au milieu de la face, deux autres à gauche et à droite, tournées vers le centre et, sans doute, une quatrième sur le revers, représentées au bord d'un ruisseau dans un paysage de plantes aquatiques et d'arbres tronqués. La composition du bol de Malibu est différente. Pourtant, la vivacité monumentale de ses échassiers est proche de la grande cigogne au centre du dessin.

En étudiant de plus près les échassiers du bol de Malibu, une particularité saute aux yeux, c'est-à-dire, la forte incision des lignes qui marquent les plumes caudales (cf. note 6). Pour autant qu'on puisse juger du bol de la Dacie, les lignes accentuées dans les ailes de la grande cigogne témoignent d'une pareille manière de rendre les détails. L'artiste des échassiers si statiques du vase de la Pierpont Morgan Library a recherché un effet semblable, mais en reproduisant le motif connu d'une façon stylisée, il l'a fait avec des lignes moins dures. Néanmoins, quelle différence si l'on compare à cette manière la rondeur presque tendre du plumage des échassiers sur les vases de Boscoréale au Louvre (Fig. 6)¹³!



Fig. 8 Bol en argent, Pierpont Morgan Library

Nous connaissons deux vases plus récents décorés d'une frise continue, reproduisant la vie des échassiers dans un paysage dru. Sur un bol de l'ancienne collection Fejervari, à présent au Musée Britannique, sont représentés quatre groupes de deux échassiers, chaque groupe étant séparé du prochain par un arbre qui étend ses branches à gauche et à droite¹⁴. La frise est bordée, en haut comme en bas, d'une bande perlée. Le relief est peu accentué. Pourtant des lignes assez fortes marquent le dessin des ailes. L'autre vase, un gobelet en argent provenant de la Casa del Menandro à Pompéi, porte au centre la scène de lutte d'un échassier et d'un serpent qui s'est enroulé autour de lui et dont l'échassier tient la tête dans son bec¹⁵. Les lignes rigidement incisées se retrouvent ici surtout dans le dessin des grands épis.

Nous arrivons ainsi à attribuer le bol du Getty Museum à l'influence artistique d'Alexandrie, probablement à un artiste alexandrin¹⁶. Quant à la date, le bol paraît antérieur au vase de la Pierpont Morgan Library qui se place à l'époque augustéenne tardive¹⁷. Il vaut la peine de vérifier cette conclusion par une autre méthode, c'est-à-dire en partant de la fonction artistique du relief. Or, dans le développement artistique qui se situe entre le début du 1er siècle av.J.-C. et la fin de la première moitié du 1er siècle de notre ère, un changement s'est produit dans les rapports entre la décoration en relief et le fond contre lequel cette décoration se dessine¹⁸. Pendant cette période, le relief qui, d'abord, interrompt à peine la transition coulante de la panse du vase au pied, devient à fur et à mesure plus haut; des détails de la représentation se détachent du fond, interrompant de plus en plus la ligne du contour pour être exécutés à la fin, parfois, sur

un rebord qui fait saillie¹⁹. Le bol de Malibu ne montre pas un relief excessivement élevé. Pourtant le contour est moins régulier qu'il ne l'est, par exemple, pour le vase à échassiers du Louvre (fig. 6). De cette façon, on arrive aussi à une date vers la fin du 1er siècle av.J.-C.

Une considération de caractère pratique rend toute date antérieure peu probable. C'est que les vases datant de l'époque hellénistique montrent tous — s'ils sont restés en usage — des traces d'usure; d'ordinaire, leur enveloppe, devenue extrêmement fragile, est en partie corrodée. Ce n'est pas le cas du bol du Getty Museum.

En revanche, une autre considération met obstacle à une date plus récente. C'est le fait qu'on a apposé un pied qui a couvert en grande partie la rosette du fond. De toute évidence, l'artiste n'a pas prévu cet apport; mais, à l'époque romaine, la forme ne répondant pas au modèle désiré, on a ajouté le pied. Nous connaissons d'autres exemples d'une pareille modification. Entre autres, deux bols en argent du genre dit "bol mégarien" et qui font partie du trésor conservé à Hildesheim, ont été enrichis à une date ultérieure de deux anses et d'un pied²⁰. On a retrouvé parmi les pièces détachées du trésor les anses appartenant à l'un des bols. Les pieds manquent, mais sur chaque rosette du fond deux empreintes de circonférence différente révèlent qu'on a changé deux fois l'aspect des vases en apposant tantôt un pied élancé, tantôt un pied large et trapu. A en juger par le modèle des anses, le bol de Malibu a eu, dans sa nouvelle version, un pied plutôt élancé.

Concluons en proposant d'attribuer la composition des reliefs du bol au J. Paul Getty Museum à Malibu à l'art alexandrin et d'en placer l'exécution vers la fin du 1er siècle av.J.-C.

L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford
Leyde

14) H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Silver Plate in the British Museum* (1921), 16.17, no. 72, pl. XII. Malgré la vivacité du dessin, l'ensemble ne fascine pas. Évidemment, la reproduction souvent répétée des motifs a fait perdre de la fraîcheur aux scènes.

15) Maiuri, *La Casa del Menandro e il suo tesoro di argenteria*, 347-348, no. 13, pl. XLV. Une date vers le milieu du 1er siècle apr. J.-C. paraît admissible.

16) Le dessin du plumage, détail de caractère plus ou moins technique, appuie d'une façon inattendue la répartition proposée des vases à échassiers en deux groupes distincts, voir *Mélanges Mansel*, 342.

17) Le vase en terre sigillée, provenant de l'atelier de C. Ateius et qui rappelle les vases de la Pierpont Morgan Library (*Zilveren en gouden vaatwerk*, 95, fig. 15 et pl. XXXVII) rappelle aussi les représentations du bol du Getty Museum.

18) L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *Varia Historica*, aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. A.W. Byvanck (1954), 71-82 (voir surtout 73-75 et 79-81); *id.*, *BABesch* XXXV (1960), 84-85.

19) Quatre skyphoi peuvent illustrer l'ensemble du développement: le skyphos du rameur (voir n. 11), les skyphoi de Hoby (Vagn H. Poulsen, "Die Silberbecher von Hoby", *Antike Plastik* VIII, 1968, 69-74, pls. 42-55), le "skyphos de Claude" (L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *Festoen*, *Mélanges A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta*, 1976, 202-207, figs. 1-2), les skyphoi de Berthouville (E. Babelon, *Le trésor d'argenterie de Berthouville*, 1916, 88-93, nos. 6-7, pls. IX-X).—Cf. *Zilveren en gouden vaatwerk*, pls. XXXI-XXXV.

20) E. Pernice und F. Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund* (1901), 28-30, voir figs. 9-10, pls. VI-VII; U. Gehrig, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund* (1967), 23, nos. 17-18, figs. 17-18.

A NEW MITHRAIC TAUROCTONY IN THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

In the years which have elapsed between the publication of my book on *Mithraic Art* and the preparation of this article for publication, the unique bronze statuette of 'Mithra eques' which I published in it¹ is no longer the only monument of Mithraic cult in the J. Paul Getty Museum. A new and very important Mithraic tauroctony has been recently donated to the museum and added to its collections; the first publication of which appears in the following pages.

To my understanding, the contribution of publications describing previously unknown and unpublished Mithraic monuments² must not be limited to the purpose of providing supplementary material for the CIMRM. The real value of some of those new monuments depends heavily on the amount of new information that they can provide regarding the Mithraic myth and the interpretation of the various symbolic figures and forms known from the already published material.

The new Mithraic tauroctony now in the J. Paul Getty Museum is happily a monument that nobody can call "one more tauroctony." It belongs to this small and select group of archaeological finds which provide to our knowledge either a positive new interpretation or a valuable and documented decision on a previously disputed point of monumental symbolism. As such, I am sure that it can claim after this publication a very prominent position among the known and published monuments of Roman Mithraism.

1. Oikonomides, A.I.N. *Mithraic Art: A Search for Unpublished and Unidentified Monuments*. Chicago 1975. 11. 'Bronze Statuette of Mithra on Horseback in the J. Paul Getty Museum', pp.85-92. Figs. 30-33.

2. Among the most recent literature, as a model publication can be considered R.L. Gordon's 'A new Mithraic relief from Rome' in *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1.2, 1976. (cf. pp.166-186. Pl. I-VIII.)



Fig. 1 J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AA.63 (front view)

MITHRA TAUROCTONUS OR BULL-SLAYER.

Central fragment from a monumental Roman sculpture, dated *ca.* the middle of the second century A.D. White Italian marble (Carrara?) and fine workmanship point towards the possibility that we are facing a work produced by one of the group of sculptors who had their workshops in the area of what can be called Metropolitan Rome. The lack, however, of an exact record of the place where the fragment was found leaves

open the possibility that the sculpture may have been made in or near Rome but for a Mithraeum³ located in one of the provinces.

Height: 31.1c; width: 34.3c; depth: 23.5c

76.AA.63, anonymous donation in memory of J. Paul Getty and David Rinne.

3. Cf. p. 90 and notes 16, 17, 18.

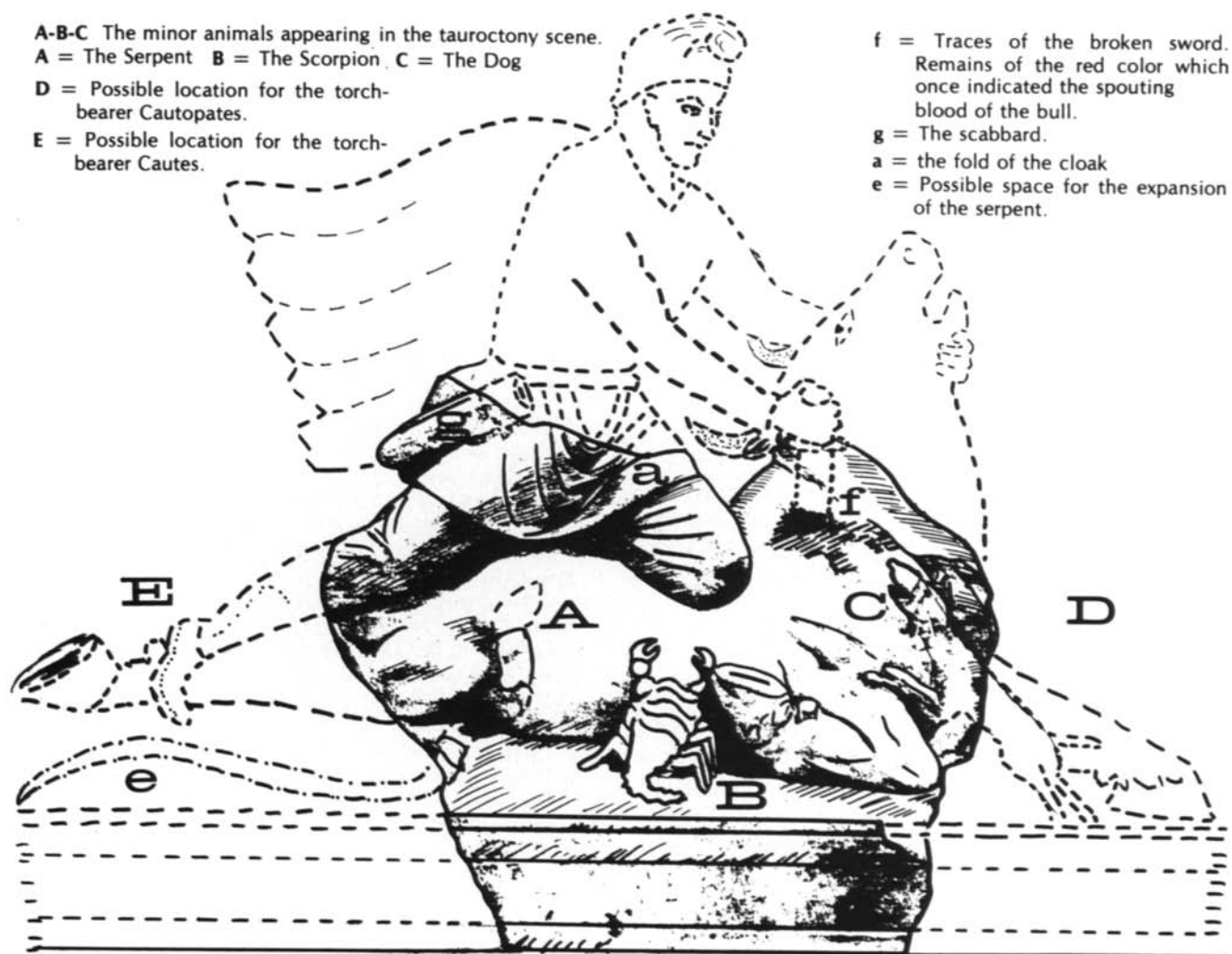


Fig. 2 Reconstruction of the Mithraic Tauroctony in the J. Paul Getty Museum

Despite the fact that some of the important parts of the sculpture are missing, the preserved part allows us to appreciate the excellence of the sculptor's art and the masterful way he depicted this very significant scene of the Mithraic myth. On our fragment only the part of Mithra's body below the waist (right leg missing) and the head-less body of the powerfully sculpted subdued bull (the extended portion of the front left leg missing, as well as the extended portion of the back right leg) remain.

The complete scene of the Mithraic tauroctony or bull-slaying as represented in Roman art is known from a great number of monuments.⁴ Our restoration (fig. 2) is an attempt to help the reader's imagination in restoring the missing parts of the sculpture and is based on the data supplied by tauroctonies belonging stylistically to the same artistic group. The two photographs of the fragment (figs. 1 & 3), viewed alongside in parallel with the drawing of the restoration, provide the eyes of the art historian and the

archaeologist with all the necessary details for classification and comparative study, better than any possible documentary list or literary description.

Mithra's Persian costume is identifiable from the preserved part of the cloak and the typical baggy trousers. On the part of the cloak partially covering the right leg lies the flat scabbard of a short Roman sword. Traces of this sword (broken and missing) can be observed between the god's right knee and the well sculpted skin-fold of the bull's neck, exactly at the place where the bull is supposed to receive the powerful mortal wound. Traces of red color still are visible, indicating that once the whole sculpture was painted

4. The first important collection of those monuments was the work of F. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figures relatifs aux Mysteres de Mithra*, 2 vols., Bruxelles 1896-1898. The second and more complete collection, presently used as the basic reference, was the work of J.M. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithraicae*, 2 vols., The Hague 1956-1960. (Abbr. CIMRM).

with the bright colors⁵ known to be used in Mithraic art.

The special value, however, of the new sculpture of the Mithraic tauroctony does not originate from its artistic excellence but from one secondary but important detail: the way that the minor animals assisting or accompanying Mithra Tauroctonus have been placed by our unknown sculptor. On this particular detail it may be necessary to examine minutely the new evidence, which 'de facto' invalidates forever some of the interpretations proposed by the earliest school of Mithraic archaeology.

Among the different minor animals⁶ depicted on the known Mithraic representations of the tauroctony or bull-slaying, we know that three of them, the dog, the serpent, and the scorpion played an important role in the myth from their frequent occurrence. Unhappily, no ancient text known until now has preserved any important portion of the Mithraic myths, so that the interpretation of the artistic representations and the various group scenes on the art-monuments remains an open field for scholarship.

Franz Cumont,⁷ the Belgian scholar who is considered by many⁸ as the real "father of Mithraic studies," was the first who tried to offer an interpretation of the presence of the three animals in the tauroctony scene. Using Zoroastrian symbolism, Cumont proposed that the dog was the good creation of Ormazd, i.e. an ally of Mithra, and the serpent and the scorpion Ahriman's evil creations, i.e. enemies of Mithra. The fight of good and evil, according to Cumont,⁹ appears in the symbolism of the dog fighting the snake and in the scorpion's effort to consume the bull's genital parts.

Cumont's interpretation has been widely accepted and remained practically unchallenged until 1971, when J.R. Hinnells read his "Reflections on the Bull-Slaying Scene" at the first International Congress of Mithraic Studies in Manchester.¹⁰ In this paper, Hinnells successfully supported the view that Cumont's interpretation of the symbolism of the dog, the serpent and the scorpion could not be supported by the monuments because "it is difficult, if not impossible, to name a [Mithraic tauroctony] relief on which it is certain that the dog and the snake are fighting . . . The majority of reliefs simply portray the dog and the snake going for the eternal blood but each ignoring the other."¹¹

Hinnells' well-taken and well-supported points on the alleged "fight" of the dog and the snake succeeded in revising partially Cumont's established idea that their symbolism could be used as evidence "for a dualistic theology of primordial battle comparable to the myth in *Greater Bundahisn*.6."¹² Concerning the symbolism of the scorpion, however, the position held by Hinnells faced a more resistant scepticism. It could well be that the serpent was not a symbol of Ahriman . . . but who could easily accept the idea that Cumont was wrong in

interpreting the scorpion as a symbol of the destructive force of evil?

In his effort to prove that the symbolism of the scorpion was also was open to question, Hinnells was missing the support of the monuments representing the Mithraic tauroctony. For, it is a fact that the majority of

5. Color printing did not provide its help to the two major works mentioned in note 4. Recently, however, Mithraic monuments have been illustrated in full color in some of the works that are essential for the study of Mithraism and Mithraic archaeology. I list here those that I consider important:

Vermaseren, M.J. *Mithriaca I: The Mithraeum at S. Maria Capua Vetere*. Leiden 1971.

Vermaseren, M.J. "Mithra e Mithrei" in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica* V(1963), p. 116-122 (Three superb plates from the frescos of the Marino Mithraeum).

Cumont, F. "The Dura Mithraeum." in *Mithraic Studies* I, pp.151-214 and II, pls. 19-30.

Daniels, Ch. *Mithras and His Temples on the Wall*. Newcastle upon Tyne 1967. (Cover).

6. The raven, the lizard and the lion occasionally accompany the dog, the serpent and the scorpion in some reliefs of the tauroctony. From the fact that they do not appear in the scene as having a special role assigned to them by the myth and also that they do not appear in what we can call 'artistic' monuments, we can understand that they may have been added to the myth by a later, more 'literary' version.

7. Cumont's works have always enjoyed a rather wide readership in the English speaking world. *The Mysteries of Mithra*, translated by T.J. McCormack and published in Chicago in the year 1903, was followed by a parallel edition in London the same year. Reprinted in paperback form in 1954 in New York, the book remains in print as a result of more than ten annual reimpressions. *Oriental Religions and Roman Paganism* (orig. ed. Chicago 1911, repr. ed. New York 1956 and reimpressions), *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (London 1911, repr. ed. New York 1957 and reimpressions).

8. There is, however, a vocal minority proclaiming that Cumont's theories have created problems for a healthy study of Mithraism in the Roman Empire. Cf. Gordon, R.L., "Cumont and the Doctrines of Mithraism," in *Mithraic Studies* I, p. 215-248. Gordon believes (*ibidem*, p. 216-7) that "... the basic categories in terms of which Cumont formulated his ideas about Mithraism, and which profoundly influenced his presentation of it, are themselves open to question; not only because his immediate model was a version of Zoroastrianism, but because he arbitrarily forced the material into an intellectual mold."

9. Cumont, F. *The Mysteries of Mithra*. Chicago 1903; Repr. p. 136.

10. Hinnells, J.R. "Reflections on the Bull-Slaying Scene." in *Mithraic Studies* II, pp. 290-312, pls. 10-13. [Further references to this paper will appear as Hinnells, *MIST* II.]

11. Hinnells, *MIST* II, p. 293. His minute observations on details of Mithraic art such as those which appear in this article "Reflections on the Lion-Headed Figure in Mithraism" in *Acta Iranica* IV, 1975, pp. 333-369 and the article "The Iconography of Cautes and Cautopates" in *Journal of Mithraic Studies*, I.1, 1976, pp. 36-67, are hopeful indications that Hinnells will one day produce a major work on Mithra and Mithraism. Those minute observations, however, should not create beards where they do not exist, like in the case of a relief most valuable for Mithraic mythology now in the Guildhall Museum. (cf. Oikonomides, A.N. *Mithraic Art*, pp. 30-37 and Hinnells, J.R. in *JMS* I.1, 1976, p.46). What Hinnells considers as a 'beard' is simply dirt and smog, which the museum personnel never had the time to clean.



Fig. 3 J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AA.63 (back view)

the monuments represent the scorpion against the bull's genital parts. Such a position could hardly bring into dispute Cumont's idea that, by trying to consume the animal's genitals, the scorpion was trying "to poison in it, the very sources of life."¹³

Among the arguments brought forward by Hinnells, there were many really valid examples from ancient monuments and artifacts which support the idea that in the symbolism of the Greco-Roman world the scorpion was not always associated with the idea of evil. The fact remained, however, that among those examples which were available for documenting his position, Hinnells had no support from the monuments representing the

Mithra Tauroctonus. Proving beyond any doubt that Hinnells was absolutely right in not considering the scorpion as necessarily an evil symbol is the new Mithraic tauroctony now in the J. Paul Getty Museum.

Campbell¹⁴ was the first one to observe that among the representations of the scorpion on monuments illustrating the Mithraic tauroctony, only one (*CIMRM*) shows his tail in the stinging position. Elaborating on

12. Hinnells, *MIST* II, p. 293.

13. Cumont, F. *The Mysteries of Mithra*. Chicago 1903, p. 135.

14. Campbell, L. *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*. Leiden 1968, p. 26.

this observation, Hinnells¹⁵ added that “. . . on many monuments at least, the artist was not concerned to show the deathly sting of the scorpion, for its tail lies completely inert.”

The scorpion sculpted on our fragmentary sculpture of the Mithraic tauroctony is lying happily with his tail completely inert on the middle of the bull's belly and completely unconcerned with the animal's genitals. Near the genitals, as far as we can say from a badly broken part still protruding from the bull's body, the serpent was located. As for the dog, we can still see part of its head and the front legs sculpted in relief on the bull's body below the broken part from the slaying sword.

There is no question that it will be rather hard to consider this inactive scorpion as a symbol of the destructive powers of evil opposing Mithra. If a name is necessary for him, the most fitting would be “the scorpion saviour”, because, by proving that Hinnells was right¹⁶ to attack Cumont's interpretation, it saved all the scorpions represented on Mithraic tauroctonies from being called in the future “symbols of evil.”

Stylistically, the Mithraic tauroctony published for the first time in this paper belongs to the unhappily small group of Mithraic sculptures that one could

consider as works of well-trained and unquestionably professional sculptors. The possibility that it is the product of a workshop located in the area of Metropolitan Rome¹⁷ is the most probable, but this fact cannot support an assumption that it was also discovered originally in the same area. We must always remember the Mithraic sculptures of the Walbrook Mithraeum which are also products of a Metropolitan Roman workshop but which were actually exported¹⁸ to the province of Britain.

Considering the order of the minor animals¹⁹ and particularly the special case of the scorpion already discussed above, our sculpture has no parallel among the Mithraic tauroctonies known and published until now. As for the placement of the serpent by the genitals of the bull, this is also a unique feature. In the three other tauroctonies where the serpent appears in the same place, it is always accompanied by the scorpion (*CIMRM* 88,89,158).

Some special details which can be observed on the preserved part of Mithra's body and the anatomy of the bull suggest the idea that the same archetypal pattern used by our sculptor was used by some other sculptors whose works were found among the ruins of the city of Rome (*CIMRM* 417,546,548).

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15. Hinnells, *MIST* II, p. 298.

16. Hinnells, *MIST* II, p. 300. I am happy only with the first part of Hinnells' conclusion stating that “the scorpion on Mithraic reliefs does not depict evil . . .” The second part “. . . but it is an astrological sign conveying, perhaps among other things, ideas of fertility”⁷⁴ leaves me unsatisfied. What idea of fertility can be conveyed to the viewer by the scene of the scorpion attacking the bull's genitals? What is the meaning of “an astrological sign” involved in the scene of the tauroctony?

It appears, however, that Hinnells was right when he pointed out that in astrology the sign of Scorpius governs the genitals. Following this point, Roger Beck's ‘A note on the scorpion in the tauroctony’ in *Journal of Mithraic Studies* I.2, 1976, pp. 208-209 brings to the discussion ‘Zoroaster's advice’ to sow “when the sun has traversed twelve degrees of Scorpius and the moon is in Taurus.” (Pliny *H.N.* XVIII.24 [55.200]).

Beck believes “that the advice attributed to Zoroaster in Pliny is very germane to the interpretation of the Mithraic tauroctony, and particularly to the interpretation of the role of the scorpion.”

17. The striking stylistic similarity between the famous tauroctony in the Vatican (*CIMRM* 548), the relief in the Cincinnati Art Museum [from Rome] and some other equally artistic tauroctonies also from Rome, establish the possibility that this workshop had created its own ‘special pattern’ for the Mithraic tauroctony. This pattern's originals could now be related to the earlier masterpieces of Nike/Victory slaying the bull.

18. Oikonomides, Al.N. *Mithraic Art*, pp. 11-22, 91-94.

19. The interpretation of Mithraic monuments is by now gradually progressing towards a better knowledge of the religion of Mithras in the Roman empire. Cumont and Vermaseren have opened the path, indicating the necessity of a comparative study of the known monuments. Others will carry on from this stage searching for the unknown paths leading to the interpretation of the remaining problem - figures in Mithraic symbolism. But we must never forget that before Cumont and Vermaseren, the interpretation of Mithraic monuments was far more primitive and absurd than anything seriously suggested in our own day. The best illustration of such conditions that I can give here is the description of a Mithraic tauroctony relief in the *Journal* of Edward Gibbon, the famous English historian who wrote the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*:

9. *A great bas relief, of a sacrifice to Mithras*; The two Chariots ascending and descending in the heavens mark the Sun, and a religion which suffered strange alterations between Persia and Rome. The priests are in Phrygian bonnets. One of them is stabbing the victim.

(Bonnard, G.A. *Gibbons Journey from Geneva to Rome*. London 1961. p. 249).

Edward Gibbon's *Journal*, from April 20 to October 2, 1764 is the source of this description, a brief text illustrating eloquently the knowledge about the Mithraic tauroctony reliefs current in his times. This knowledge of course changed gradually for the better in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries (Cumont's *TMMM* was published between 1896 and 1898).

A PAPYRUS LETTER ABOUT EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY BOOKS

The J. Paul Getty Museum is housed in a successful recreation of the Villa dei Papyri in Herculaneum. Of the various types of artwork and artifacts bequeathed to the modern world by antiquity and now among the Museum's holdings, however, there was until recently a gap whose filling would have made the correspondence between the two buildings even more nearly complete. There were no papyri in the Museum's collection even though the original Villa was named after its rich library of papyrus rolls, containing mostly Epicurean texts. The first step to improve the situation in Malibu was taken by Mrs. Lenore Barozzi who generously presented the J. Paul Getty Museum with two papyri. One of them, the subject of this note, is particularly appropriate in that its contents concern Epicurean philosophy books.¹

As is the case with most of the papyri that have survived the centuries, the physical appearance of this one is unimposing. There is one large fragment, 5.8 cm.

in width by 10.7 cm. in height, to which two small fragments have been placed in alignment.² Three tiny bits have broken off from the main piece and have defied attempts to replace them in their proper positions. One bears the trace of a letter (not enough survives to establish its identity), the others bear respectively the letters *ad* and *ou*. The hand that wrote the body of the text is regular and easily legible, certainly belonging to the Roman period and within that period, with some likelihood, to the latter half of the second century.³ A salutation and what has been read as a date were added at the bottom (apparently) by a different hand,⁴ thinner and more rapid than the first hand.

Remains of a left-hand margin are preserved in one of the two small fragments. Although that piece cannot be joined cleanly to the main piece, it appears to have broken away from the upper left-hand part of the text. It has therefore been positioned close to, but not flush

1) It provided the subject matter for a paper I delivered at the 107th Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association in Washington, D.C. J. Paul Getty Museum, 76.A1.27

2) Not without raising difficulties and doubts; for which see Commentary, notes to lines 3-5 and 15. The fragment at the upper left (see Figure) measures 3.0 x 1.7 cm.; that at the lower left, 1.6 x 1.7 cm.

3) Though less regular and calligraphic and not identical in all its

letter shapes, the hand in many respects resembles that which transcribed the Berlin copy of the Gnomon of the Idios Logos (*B.G.U.* V 1210, prob. A.D. 161/180). See R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*, vol. I (Stuttgart, 1967), pl. 37, or O. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia* (Torino, 1973), pl. 57.

4) Not inconceivably, it is the same hand writing more quickly.

against, the main fragment. If that positioning is right, or nearly so, it means that not too much has been lost at the left side of the papyrus. There is no way, however, to estimate the loss on the right side. The result is that the papyrus is nearly complete from top to bottom, with only a line or two of address missing at the top; but its width has suffered losses, modest on the left, inestimable on the right, and of such an extent generally as to preclude attempts to establish with precision the flow of thought in the text.

Luckily, what has remained of the papyrus clearly indicates its form and subject matter: it is a letter about books, and more precisely, about Epicurean philosophy books. As many as six Epicurean works are mentioned, most with their titles preserved in whole or in part. Most, as would be expected, are works by Epicurus himself, but at least one may be from the corpus of writings by Epicurus's most beloved disciple, Metrodorus.⁵ As far as judgement is possible, it is these books that constitute the primary and perhaps, apart from the usual formalities, sole subject matter of the letter. What was to be done with them? The answer to this question is probably supplied by the verb forms ἀναπέμψω and ἀπέστειλα, preserved respectively in lines 7 and 8 of the text. They suggest that the sender of the letter is also a sender of books: he will send, and has already sent, a selection of Epicurean tracts to his addressee. He is possibly an older adherent providing pertinent literature to a younger devotee or more recent convert. The circumstances may therefore reflect those of a roughly contemporary but far better known Epicurean letter, that of Diogenes of Oenoanda to Antipater, preserved in fragments 15 and following of the former's famous inscription. There, at one point, Diogenes affirms: "I

have sent, as you requested, the (books) 'On the Infinity of Worlds'."⁶

It is unfortunate that the names of the correspondents of the papyrus letter are lost. If not scholars, they were, as just suggested, presumably adherents to Epicurean philosophy. The exact provenance of the letter is also unknown. All that can be said is that it must have come from the Egyptian chôra. It was certainly sent there after being written, possibly even written there if not in Alexandria. There is only one clue toward greater precision on this point: the verb ἀναπέμψω. If, as frequently in Egyptian Koinê, the prepositional element indicates relative position with respect to the Nile, then the recipient of the letter was "upriver" (ἀνα-) with respect to its sender, a circumstance consistent with the letter's having been written in Alexandria, a city where such books as those mentioned in the letter might more readily have been found.

Whatever the case, in its concern for philosophy books, this papyrus is a precious bit of testimony for the existence of an interest in Epicureanism in the Egyptian countryside in the Roman period.⁷ In its concern for books it invites comparison with *P.Oxy. XVIII 2192*, a letter of the second century A.D. in which the writer asks that copies of books 6 and 7 of Hypsicrates' *Comic Characters* be made and sent to him,⁸ and with *P.Berol. 21849*, a fifth-century letter in which the writer urges the return of books he had lent the addressee, namely Alexander Claudius's commentary on Demosthenes and three works by Menander Rhetor.⁹

Only one side of the papyrus is inscribed. No trace of writing (an address, for example) has survived on the reverse side. The text of the letter, written as is usual with the fibers, is as follows:¹⁰

5) The work by Metrodorus: line 2 and Commentary note. For the other works: lines 3, 4, 5, 6 and 11 with notes.

6) *Diogenis Oenoandensis Fragmenta*, ed. Chilton (Teubner, Leipzig, 1967), Fr. 16, col. I.4-6: τὰ περὶ ἀπειρίας κόλμων, ὡς ἡξίωσας, ἀπέστειλά σοι. Cf. col. II.12 ff.

7) Evidence thereto is otherwise exceedingly scarce. For example, only a handful of Epicurean texts are listed in Roger A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (2nd edn., Ann Arbor, 1965). They are nos. 2574-2579, two of which at least are of Ptolemaic vintage.

8) Reproduced in E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1971), as no. 68. The letter also mentions *inter alia* certain "prose epitomes of Thersagoras's work on the myths of tragedy." The papyrus is listed by Pack as no. 2091.

9) H. Maehler, "Menander Rhetor and Alexander Claudius in a Papyrus Letter," *GRBS* 15 (1974), 305-311. Also pertinent is *P.Primi*

(= *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 11, a letter of the second century listing works by Antipater, Boëthus, Chrysippus, Diogenes and Posidonius; Pack no. 2093. Incidentally, the Berlin letter and the letter edited in the present paper should both be added to Pack's list of "Book Catalogues" (*op.cit.* nos. 2087-2093).

10) Because of doubt as to the spacing and position of the small fragment at the upper left (see earlier comments in this introduction and below, note to lines 3-5) with respect to the main fragment, I have not included in the transcription estimates on the extent of the lacunas at the beginning of the lines. If the fragment is rightly positioned and spaced, then the lacuna in the first half of line 5 may be set at roughly six letters, with about eight letters missing at the beginnings of lines 6 and 7, seven at the beginning of line 8, five at the beginnings of lines 9 through 11, and so forth. I take line 15 to be complete—but only if the fragment at the lower left is correctly placed (see note ad loc.).



TRANSLATION

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | <i>vacat</i> χαίρει[ν
Μητ]ροδώρου βιβλ[ι-
χο[ύ]ρου περὶ δίκαιοσύνης α.[
ἀρ[ι]στοτων ὑπὲρ[[ι]]τῆς ἡδονῆς [
5 γού[]. τὸ γὰρ β[] περὶ [
] ἐτέρῳ φίλῳ ε.[
] ἀναπέμνω τ.[
]. ἀπέστειλα διὰ .[
] λειτῆς οὐχ ὁρᾶται μοι[
10]υκέναι ὥστε πρὸς ἑμαυτ[όν]
] βιβλία ἐν . . . ματι[
] μερ . . [.] ἀσπάζου [
] ἀνδετησα . . ἐνῶς [
].
15 (2nd hand) ἔρρω(σο) L δ' [Χο]ἀχ' ὄ. | 'Επι-]
". . . greetings. . . . book(s) of(?) Metrodorus . . .
Epicurus's (book) 'On Justice' . . . best 'On Pleasure' . .
. For the 2nd book 'On . . . ' . . . (to?) another friend . . .
I will send . . . I sent through the hand of . . . -leites
does not seem to me . . . so that to me . . . books . . .
Greet . . .
"Farewell. Year 4, Choiak 4." |
|---|---|---|

COMMENTARY

2. Μητ]ροδώρου: the broken letter is far more likely to be *rho* than *lambda*. Accordingly, another attractive possibility, that the name should be restored as 'Απολ]λοδώρου, can be dismissed. Apollodorus was a voluminous Epicurean writer, responsible for more than

400 books, including a biography of Epicurus. See Diogenes Laertius X.2 and 25. For a listing of titles by Metrodorus: *ibid.* X.24. Yet another possibility, raised by Jørgen Mejer (letter of 25 April 1976), is that this line does not refer to a work by Metrodorus but to one entitled Περί Μητροδώρου, somehow equivalent to Epicurus's work whose title is given simply as Μητροδώρος in Diogenes Laertius X.28.

βιβλ[ι]: βιβλ[ίον] or βιβλ[ία]. Accusative is likely; whether singular or plural is uncertain.

3-5. It is certain from the position of the small fragment prior to mounting that it comes from the upper left-hand portion of the papyrus. In three successive lines it bears the following: κο[, αρι[, γου[. Whether the fragment's alignment with lines 3-5 is right is open to question; it might also have been aligned with lines 2-4 or with lines 4-6. In defense of the alignment with lines 3-5, it may be said that this positioning produces the most attractive readings, particularly in suggesting the restoration Ἐπι[κο]ύρου in lines 2-3, and less significantly, though still importantly, ἀρ[ισ]των in line 4. But, of course, by very reason of these results, the fragment's position may come under suspicion. The reader should therefore exercise caution in accepting or using the readings at the beginnings of lines 3-5.

3. The letter after δικαιούσης is certainly *alpha*; *kappa* cannot be read; therefore κα[ι] cannot be restored. It is still likely that this line refers, though in shortened fashion, to the treatise περί δικαιούσης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, listed by Diogenes Laertius (X.27-28) as being among Epicurus's best productions.

α[ι]: if the letter after *alpha* is *lambda* (a distinct possibility) then restore, as Mejer suggests, something like ἄλλο.

4. ὕπερ[[ι]] τῆς ἡδονῆς: περί, the usual preposition in book titles, was written first, then emended to ὑπερ. *Upsilon* was squeezed in above the line, *iota* canceled with a short oblique stroke. The work that is meant is presumably Epicurus's book *De voluptate*, cited by Cicero, *De divinatione* II.27.59 (cf. H. Usener, *Epicurea* [Stuttgart, 1966; repr. of 1887 edn.], p. 101), but not to be found in Diogenes Laertius's list at X.27-28. For the frequent interchange of ὑπερ and περί in *Koinê*, see E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, II.2 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934; repr. 1970), pp. 450-54; Blass, Debrunner, and Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, 1961), §§ 229(1) and 231.

5. γου: perhaps restore λό[[γ]ου, running over from the

preceding line.

τὸ γὰρ β[ιβλ] περί[τ]: "The 2nd book 'On . . .'" Several of Epicurus's works are known to have run to two or more "books," i.e. papyrus rolls. This was presumably one of them. See again Diogenes Laertius X.27-28, *passim*.

6. ε[ι]: perhaps restore Ἐπ[ικου]ρου, ἐπ[ιστολ]ήν, or ἐπ[ιστολ]άς. The reference could be to a work, a letter or letters, addressed to a friend of Epicurus's other than Metrodorus (line 2).

9.]λειτης: broken *lambda*, or perhaps *mu*. My original inclination was to take this as the ending of a personal name; but I have found few examples of names ending in this manner. If the broken word does refer to an individual, a more reasonable conjecture is that this is part of a word giving the man's place of origin, i.e., the man was a Hermopolite, Antinoopolite or the like. Therefore restore, *exempli gratia*, something like Ἐρμουπο]λειτής (- πολεΐτης = -πολίτης, an example of the most common type of *iotacism*).

οὐχ ὀράται: seems unusual, but the word division appears correct and the reading of the individual letters is certain.

10. ἑμαυτ[όν]: or ἑμαυτ[ῶ].

11. Between εν and ματι the line is badly damaged; only the very tops of the letters are visible. The traces at the end of the line are puzzling, possibly (far from certainly) marred by cancelation. There appears to be a fragmentary letter, written above the line, to the upper right of the *iota*.

15. The small fragment at the lower left poses difficulties of placement and, accordingly, of establishing a correct text. Because it carries the letter's salutation, the fragment must belong to the bottom of the papyrus; moreover, the handwriting style, more rapid than that of the first hand (though see above, fn. 4), matches that found at the bottom of the main fragment. The main issue is whether the small fragment, which contains only one broken line of writing, should be set against line 14 or line 15 of the main fragment. The latter alternative is adopted here.

L δ[ε] = (ἔτους) (τετάρτου), i.e. the fourth regnal year of an emperor, or of emperors, whose name is not given.

[Χο]ίαχ: read Χοίαχ. The final *chi*, as opposed to the more usual *kappa*, and the suspension of the letter above the line (usually indicating an abbreviation), cast some doubt on this reading. The superlinear stroke over the following *delta* make its status as a cipher clear.

Choiak 4: normally November 30; in leap years December 1.

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TWO NEWLY DISCOVERED CEILING PAINTINGS BY SIMON VOUET

Since Crelly's monograph on Simon Vouet published in 1962¹ a number of paintings, some of them of considerable importance, have turned up in various parts of the world and the list of his works continues to grow. It was still unexpected, however, to find two major canvasses (masquerading under the name of "Van Loo") on a ceiling in California where they have remained unnoticed by scholars for six decades.²

Unfortunately the present location of the two paintings, in a duplex in William Randolph Hearst's residence at San Simeon, makes it difficult to photograph them properly and the reproductions offered here will no doubt one day be improved upon when the canvasses can be removed from the ceiling and cleaned.³ Nonetheless, the first photographs are, one hopes, sufficiently clear to dispel any question about their authorship.

The subject of the best of the two is *Diana and Endymion* (fig. 1), a theme often found on bedroom ceilings during the seventeenth century. Diana is seen leaning down from behind the clouds, illuminated by the crescent of the moon. Inside the crescent one sees her chariot and a putto seated on top. Endymion is painted with a great deal of foreshortening, resting on the slope of Mt. Latmus, holding his staff and, instead of sleeping, looking up at Diana. Another putto is tugging at his robes.

The subject of the second canvas (fig. 2) is more difficult to interpret exactly. Neptune is shown in the foreground, slightly over half length, astride two sea horses one of whose head peers out at the spectator; the other turns his head away and seems to look back at Neptune. Behind them one sees a massive colonnade with part of a statue seen between two of the columns at the left. Standing before the colonnade is a woman who is leaning toward Neptune and may in fact be running, as her clothing is in some agitation. I know of no other

compositions with which one can directly compare this theme, but there is some reason to think that the woman is Amphitrite.

The normal representation of *Neptune and Amphitrite* depicts them on the open sea, in a sort of "triumphal" arrangement surrounded by putti or tritons. Amphitrite is usually seen unclothed. A composition of this nature was also painted by Vouet for a vestibule at Fontainebleau, and although the painting has since disappeared, the engraving by Dorigny of 1644 shows that it corresponded in type to the standard representations of this subject (fig. 3). There are many details in common with the San Simeon picture, notably the way in which the horses and Neptune are rendered; but the Amphitrite at Fontainebleau was unclothed and riding on the back of the horses, held by a Triton. There is no sign of land.

However, there are one or two representations that depict another episode in the legend of Amphitrite, the so-called *Wedding of Neptune and Amphitrite*, that are much closer to the San Simeon ceiling in type. The most notable is a picture in Hungary that is probably by an artist in the studio of Schönfeld and presumably painted a little after mid-century (fig. 4).⁴ It shows

1. William Crelly, *The Painting of Simon Vouet*, 1962.

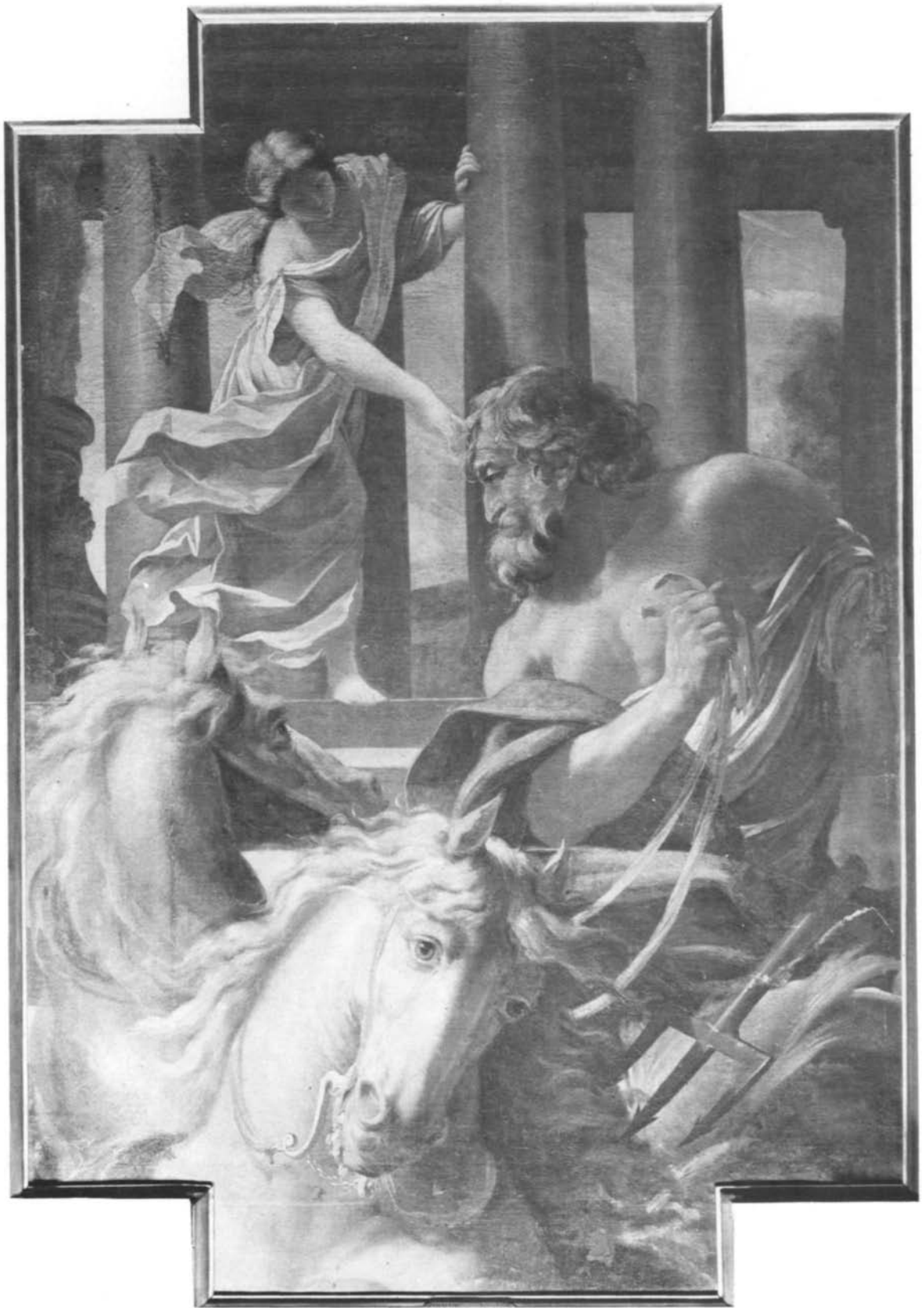
2. The paintings measure approximately 185.5 x 127 cm. (73 x 50 inches) and were purchased by Mr. Hearst at Clarke's in New York in February, 1921. They still have labels identifying them as the work of Van Loo which was probably the name given them at that time.

3. They are installed in the ceiling of one of the "duplexes" in the new wing of the castle at San Simeon. The room is split into two sections, one part raised to a kind of mezzanine. The *Endymion* is above the bed on the mezzanine and is only 10 feet or so from the floor. The Neptune is above the lower portion, and is approximately twice that far from the floor.

4. H. Pee, *Johann Heinrich Schönfeld*, 1971, pp. 270-71, no. AB10, with bibliography. The painting belongs to the Museum István Király in Székesfehérvár.



1. Vouet, *Diana and Endymion*. San Simeon, Hearst Historical Monument.



2. Vouet, *Neptune and Amphitrite* (?) San Simeon, Hearst Historical Monument.



3. M. Dorigny after Vouet, *Neptune and Amphitrite*, engraving, 1644.

Neptune with his entourage at the shore, taking a crowned woman, evidently Amphitrite, by the hand. Behind her are Cybele (recognizable by her mural crown) and a group of ladies with flowers in their hair. In the background on a hill is a round temple, similar in type to the famous temple at Tivoli. Because of the offerings being presented from both sides, it is apparent that a wedding is probably intended, and since Amphitrite was the only goddess associated with Neptune in this way, it seems likely that the picture does indeed depict their wedding.

Another picture, this one more certainly by Schönfeld himself, and showing what is obviously the same subject, is in Czechoslovakia.⁵ It is very similar in arrangement but omits the temple on the hill. Its date is generally thought to be in the 1660's.

A third painting, by Gerard de Lairese, and therefore still later in date, is not known to me in reproduction, but may also represent the same subject.⁶ It corresponds to the picture in Hungary in that it also includes Cybele and (apparently) part of a temple.

It does not seem likely that a subject of this nature would have been painted only three or four times and one might logically expect that a more prominent version by an artist such as Poussin, or perhaps an

Italian, would exist that could have served as the prototype for an artist such as Schönfeld. Perhaps other depictions of the subject exist unknown to me. But the one in Hungary, as undistinguished as it may be, is, I believe, close enough to at least tentatively justify the identification.

It is true that Neptune and "Amphitrite" are not in the act of being married in the San Simeon painting, nor do they even join hands. Neptune, at best, might be said to have brought his horses near enough to the shore to allow Amphitrite to jump on, and it has more the appearance of a bareback rescue in a western film than the marriage of a god and a goddess. On the other hand the colonnade may very well be that of a circular temple such as that in the background of the Hungarian picture, and the statue (of Vesta?) can be seen inside the temple in both pictures. Finally there is no other scene that includes Neptune that could plausibly be connected with the San Simeon composition.

Both of the San Simeon canvasses are unusual in shape in that their corners are indented. They are not unique in Vouet's *oeuvre* in this respect, but it is nonetheless possible that the San Simeon pictures were originally square and have been cut in order to make them fit the decoration. That they were originally parts of a ceiling is made likely by the foreshortening, or more accurately, the viewpoint, *di sotto in su*, which is most prominent in the *Diana and Endymion*. This viewpoint can be found in other ceilings by Vouet, most notably in the *Four Virtues* at Versailles done probably in the mid 1630's. It was also employed in the frescoes of the Hôtel Séguier (ca. 1637/38) and the Château de Wideville done between 1640 and 1643. But the most relevant comparison must be with the now destroyed ceiling frescoes painted for the Château de Chilly in 1630/31. The compositions of the two principal scenes, the *Rising of the Sun* and *The Rising of Moon* (fig. 5), are known to us from Dorigny's engravings of 1638 and one sees there, especially in the latter, a use of the *di sotto in su* very similar to the *Endymion* at San Simeon. In addition the crescent moon looms up behind the clouds as in *Endymion* and encloses a chariot also very much like that seen behind Diana's head.

There is perhaps a further relationship between the Chilly frescoes and the two at San Simeon. The

5. H. Pee, *op. cit.*, pp.166-67, no.103; the painting belongs to the collection of Schloss Vizovice in Czechoslovakia.

6. The picture is described in the 1907 Vienna catalogue as no.1014: "Zybele empfängt Neptun und Amphitrite. Links am Meeresufer vor einem Säulenportal sitzt die Göttin mit ihrem Gefolge. Von rechts naht auf seinem Wagen, von Nymphen umgeben, Neptun mit Amphitrite, die Gaben des Meeres bringend." The picture does not appear in recent catalogues.



4. J. Schönfeld follower, *The Wedding of Neptune and Amphitrite*, Székesfehérvár, Museum István Király.



5. M. Dorigny after Vouet, *The Rising of the Moon*, engraving, 1638.



6. Vauvet, *Bacchus and Ariadne*. Paris, Chavagnac collection.

description of the decorations at Chilly given by A. J. Dézallier d'Argenville⁷ in the next century before their destruction reads as follows:

Les appartemens ne sont recommandables que par leur grandeur. On voit au premier étage une galerie peinte par Vauvet, aidé de Perrier, qui a long-tems étudié & travaillé sous lui dans ce Château. Le plafond est à compartimens de stuc, avec de grosses bordures autour des tableaux peints à fresque. L'assemblée des Dieux est au milieu, & aux extrémités le lever du Soleil & celui de la Lune. Le reste est rempli par quatorze sujets de la Fable. Les murs sont ornés de Caryatides & de groupes d'enfans, avec des panneaux carrés & ovales peints

7. *Voyage pittoresque des environs de Paris*, 1762, pp.221-222. A similar description is also in his *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*. 1762, p. 16.

8. Crelly, *op.cit.*, no.116. The suggestion that it came from Chilly was first made by Dimier in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'art français*, 1924, pp. 15-19.

à l'huile, au nombre de onze de chaque côté, & un sur la cheminée. On y remarque Diane & Endimion, Neptune & Amphitrite, Andromède, Europe, Pan & Syrinx. Au-dessous il y a de petits Paysages & des vûes de Châteaux, peints dans le goût de Paul Bril. Les ornemens de Sculpture & les Caryatides qui régient l'Architecture de cette galerie, sont de Sarazin.

The presence in this gallery of two scenes depicting *Diana and Endymion* and *Neptune and Amphitrite* leads one to suggest that the two paintings at San Simeon might in fact have been done for Chilly. Dézallier d'Argenville specifies that they were done in oils rather than fresco, so they might have survived. On the other hand, the extreme foreshortening in the *Endymion* episode at San Simeon makes it an improbable wall painting, unless perhaps it was very high and near the ceiling. Taken altogether the evidence cannot, I believe, be used to definitely maintain that we are dealing with two of the twenty-three lost paintings from the gallery at Chilly. It does seem, however, like a good possibility.

It is noteworthy that another picture which has also been proposed as being one of the missing Chilly pictures, a *Bacchus and Ariadne* (fig. 6) now in the Chavagnac collection in Paris,⁸ originally had a shape very similar to that of the San Simeon paintings. It has since been extended to make a complete rectangle, but it once had indented corners. There is no proof that the gallery at Chilly included a *Bacchus and Ariadne*, but the style of the Chavagnac canvas is fairly close to that of the *Endymion*, and the indented corners lend some credence to the idea that they all came from the same ensemble.

Whether one accepts this proposal or not, the two new canvasses must in any case date from the 1630's. The *Endymion* scene seems especially reminiscent of his Italian pictures done in the prior decade; the Neptune is dryer and much more decorative in color, looking forward to his works of the next decade.

While the San Simeon pictures may not rank among Vauvet's greatest masterpieces, they do represent a crucial period in his development and in that of ceiling decoration in the north. Examples of such decorative work from the seventeenth century have seldom reached this country and those at San Simeon are probably the most important to be found outside of France.

Burton B. Fredericksen
Malibu



1. Cavedone. Mars and Venus. (No. 1)



2. Jouvenet. The taking down from the Cross (No. 2)

SEVEN PAINTINGS FROM THE FESCH COLLECTION

Recently the present writer gave an account¹ of how fifteen paintings formerly in the collection of Cardinal Fesch came to be part of the initial holding of the National Gallery of Ireland. They were brought from the Roman dealer, Alessandro Aducci, in 1856.

At that time Aducci offered the Board of the Dublin Gallery more paintings than they were in a position to buy, including four Lanfrancos, one of which is now in the J. Paul Getty Museum.² Apart from these four Lanfrancos seven other paintings from the Fesch collection were offered to the National Gallery of Ireland by Signor Aducci. It is useful to describe these as they contribute a little more to our relatively meagre knowledge of the great Fesch collection. Five of these

paintings can be located today but two are "missing", and are known only from the pencil sketches sent by Aducci to Dublin.

1. GIACOMO CAVEDONE, *Mars and Venus* (Fig. 1)

Sale reference: probably GEORGE (1845), lot 1316, unattributed, bt. Aducci

Size given: 5 pieds 10 pouces by 5 pieds 4 pouces

Metric equivalent: 1.89 by 1.73 m.³

Note: This is probably the painting that passed through Christie's: 12 December, 1863, lot 112; and 28 May, 1864, lot 138.



3. Regnier. St. Sebastian tended by St. Irene. (No. 4)



4. Seghers. The Denial of St. Peter. (No. 5)

2. JEAN JOUVENET, *The taking down from the Cross* (Fig. 2)

Sale reference: GEORGE (1844), lot 359, bt. Aducci
Size given: 13 pieds 0 pouces 9 lignes by 6 pieds 3 pouces 6 lignes

Metric equivalent: 4.24 by 2.04 m.

Note: This painting was subsequently sold at the Monte di Pietà in Rome, 1875, lot 1229 (information kindly supplied by Monsieur Jean-Pierre Cuzin).

3. MARCO PALMEZZANO, *Mystic marriage of St. Catherine* (Fig. 5)

Sale reference: GEORGE (1845), lot 1753, bt. Aducci
Size given: 8 pieds 0 pouces 6 lignes by 5 pieds 7 pouces 6 lignes

Metric equivalent: 2.61 by 1.83 m.

Present size: 2.46 by 1.78 m.

Coll.: Marquess of Northampton, Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire, England.

Note: This is probably the painting that passed through Christie's: 12 December, 1863, lot. 121; and 28 May, 1864, lot 147.

4. NICOLAS REGNIER, *St. Sebastian tended by St. Irene* (Fig. 3)

Sale reference: GEORGE (1845), lot 706, bt. Aducci
Size given: 5 pieds 3 pouces by 6 pieds 9 pouces

Metric equivalent: 1.71 by 2.19 m.

Present size: 1.71 by 2.20 m.

Coll.: Ferens Art Gallery, Kingston upon Hull, England.

Note: In the Fesch sale the painting was attributed to Francesco Gentileschi.

5. GERARD SEGHERS, *The Denial of St. Peter* (Fig. 4)

Sale reference: GEORGE (1844), lot 217, bt. Aducci
Size given: 4 pieds 9 pouces 6 lignes by 6 pieds 11 pouces 6 lignes

Metric equivalent: 1.56 by 2.26 m.

Present size: 1.53 by 2.03 m.

Coll.: The Earl of Mansfield at Scone Palace, Scotland.

Note: For the correlation of this painting with the distinguished history of the Fesch version, see B. NICOLSON in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 112 (June 1971), pp. 304 ff.



5. Palmezzano. Mystic marriage of St. Catherine. (No. 3)

6. FILIPPO TARCHIANI, attributed to, *Supper at Emmaus* (Fig. 6)

Sale reference: GEORGE (1845), lot 1040

Size given: 3 pieds 1 pouce 10 lignes by 4 pieds 3 pouces 7 lignes

Metric equivalent: 1.02 by 1.40 m.

Present size: 0.99 by 1.35 m.

Coll.: Los Angeles County Museum of Art (William Randolph Hearst Collection)

Note: In the Fesch sale the painting was attributed to Louis Le Nain.

7. VALENTIN DE BOULOGNE, *Christ expelling the money-changers from the temple* (Fig. 7)

Sale reference: GEORGE (1844), lot 438

Size given: 6 pieds 1 pouce 6 lignes by 8 pieds 1 pouce 0 ligne

Metric equivalent: 1.99 by 2.62 m.

Present size: 1.95 by 2.60 m.

Coll.: Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Corsini, Rome.

1. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 89 (January 1977), pp. 1-8.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

3. Metric equivalent given to nearest two decimal points only.

Michael Wynne
National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin



6. Tarchiani, attributed to Supper at Emmaus. (No. 6)



7. de Boulogne. Christ expelling the money-changers from the temple. (No. 7)



1a. *Grimani "Vitellius,"* Venice Archeological Museum.

Among the most important sculptures used by painters of the Italian Renaissance, such as the Laocoön and the Torso Belvedere, is the magnificent marble head said to

1. This article is a condensation and updated version of my Masters thesis written in June of 1975 under the direction of Professor Peter Meller at the University of California at Santa Barbara.

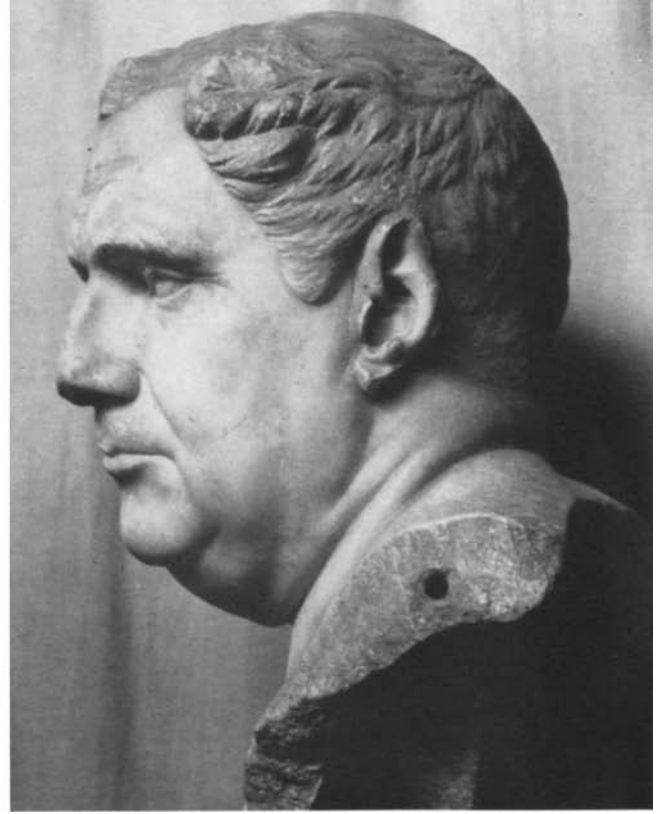
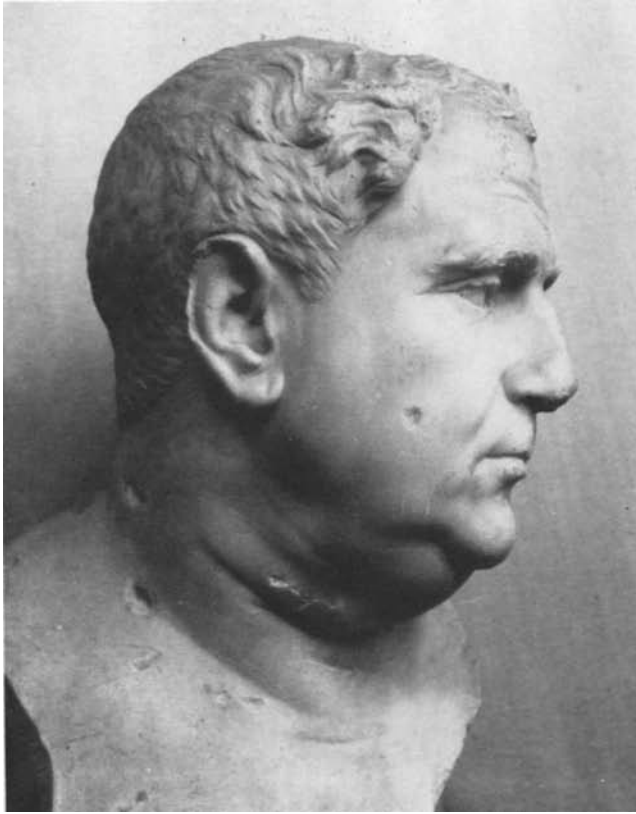
The bust is believed to be one of the sculptures unearthed in Rome in the excavations of Cardinal Domenico Grimani begun c. 1505. G. Traversari, *Ritratti*, 63; and M. Perry, "The Statuario Pubblico of the Venetian Republic," *Saggie e Memorie di Storia dell'Arte*, VIII, 1972, 78f. Domenico Grimani purchased a vast vineyard on the northern slope of the Monte Cavallo for the purpose of erecting a villa, a site identified at present as being in front of the Piazza Barberini in Rome. P. Paschini, "Le Collezioni Archeologiche dei Prelati Grimani del Cinquecento," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia*, V, 1928, 151. Reference is made of this purchase in the will of a son of Antonia Grimani dated 1518: R. Gallo, "Le Donazioni alla

METAMORPHOSES OF THE GRIMANI "VITELLIUS"

be of the Emperor Vitellius. Sent by Cardinal Domenico Grimani from Rome to Venice in 1523 and now in the Archaeological Museum in Venice (Fig. 1),¹ it is known

Serenissima di Domenico e Giovanni Grimani," *Archivio Veneto*, Quinta Serie, L-LI, 1953, 35. Sculptures which were uncovered in the excavations are mentioned in a contemporary booklet of 1513: Paschini, "Collezioni Grimani," 151. Upon the death of Julius II in 1513, Domenico Grimani transferred the "Vitellius" to the Palazzo San Marco. Gallo, "Donazioni Grimani," 35. Thus the bust was probably labeled "Vitellius" sometime after its discovery, perhaps as early as 1505, but before its transfer to the Palace c. 1513.

The following opinions have been expressed about the Grimani "Vitellius": ancient (with doubts), second half of the 1st cent. A.D. (but not Vitellius); B. Forlati Tamaro, *Il Museo Archeologico del Palazzo Reale di Venezia*, 2nd Ed., 1969, 23; ancient, ca. 130 A.D., the same man represented in some medallions on the Arch of Constantine: C. Anti, *Il Museo Archeologico di Venezia*, Rome, 1930,



1b. *Grimani "Vitellius,"* Venice Archeological Museum.



2. Giovanni Cavino, Vitellius Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum.

to be the source of numerous sculptures,² coins struck in Padua in the 16th century (Fig. 2),³ and the model of many drawings by Tintoretto or members of his school.

As the Grimani "Vitellius" was in Rome in 1523, the year of its transfer to Venice, it is not surprising to find examples of its use in works by Baldassare Peruzzi. The head was used as the model for the large man giving alms to a reclining nude in Peruzzi's painting *The Presentation of the Virgin*, ca. 1523 in the church of S. Maria della Pace in Rome.⁴

A drawing in the Louvre (Inv. 1410) attributed to Peruzzi is preparatory to the painting and proves the naturalistic head in the painting was derived from the sculpture (Fig. 3). The drawing is in ink, with wash and white heightening, 565 x 891 mm. A detailed caricature of the sculpture by Peruzzi appears on a sheet of head studies in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin and is tentatively dated 1523-26 by C. Frommel.⁵

From 1525 until 1593, the Grimani "Vitellius" was displayed in the Ducal Palace in Venice where privileged artists could study it and make plaster casts from it.⁶ One such cast, now in the University Museum in Padua, belonged to Marco Mantova Benavides, a 16th century Paduan art collector (see note 3). The cast was part of the Benavides Collection sometime after 1517 to 1543. The following entry is recorded in the 1695 inventory of the Benavides house.

135; J. Sieveking, "Zum Bildnis des Kaisers "Vitellius," *Festschrift für Georg Habich zum 60. Geburtstag*, 1928, 44; A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, "A Creative Misunderstanding," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 23, 1972, 3ff.; of Hadrianic date; G. Traversari, *Ritratti*, 64; Renaissance: E. Visconti, cited in A. Mongez, *Iconographie Romaine*, Paris, 1824, II, 195; Arndt Amelung, *EA*, no. 2636; M. Gjødesen, "De Tre Kejsere Litteraere og Plastiske Portraetter," *Meddelelser Fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, København, 1957, 29; ancient or possibly by Alessandro Vittoria: E. Schwarzenberg, review of B. Candida, *I Calchi Rinascimentali nella Collezione Mantova Benavides*, (Padova, 1967), *Gnomon*, XLII, 1970, 611. In my opinion the Grimani "Vitellius" is a Renaissance work of the 1st quarter of the 16th century with perhaps minor restorations near the end of the century. In 1587 Domenico Grimani's Antiquities were restored by Titiano Aspetti. Alessandro Vittoria was in part responsible for an inventory of these antiquities and may have taken part in the restoration. Perry, "Statuario," 112 and 118, fn. In a forthcoming article in *Rivista Tedesca*, II, 1977, P. Meller discusses the attribution of the Grimani "Vitellius."

2. For a list of the sculptures after the Grimani "Vitellius" see J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, II/2, 12-20 and Zadoks-Jitta, "Misunderstanding." It is my opinion the relief head in the Getty Museum matches the coin types of Vitellius and is of the Emperor; *Recent Acquisitions, Ancient Art, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California*, Pullman, Wash., 1974, no. 21, see J. Pollini, above pp. 63ff.

3. J. Paul Getty Museum, 75.AK.90; presented by Derek Content, *Recent Acquisitions of Antiquities*, I.VI-2.IX.1976, no. 34. The medal is attributed to the Paduan medallist Giovanni Cavino (ca. 1499-1570), and is based upon antique coins as well as the Grimani "Vitellius." The obverse shows the bust of "Vitellius" looking



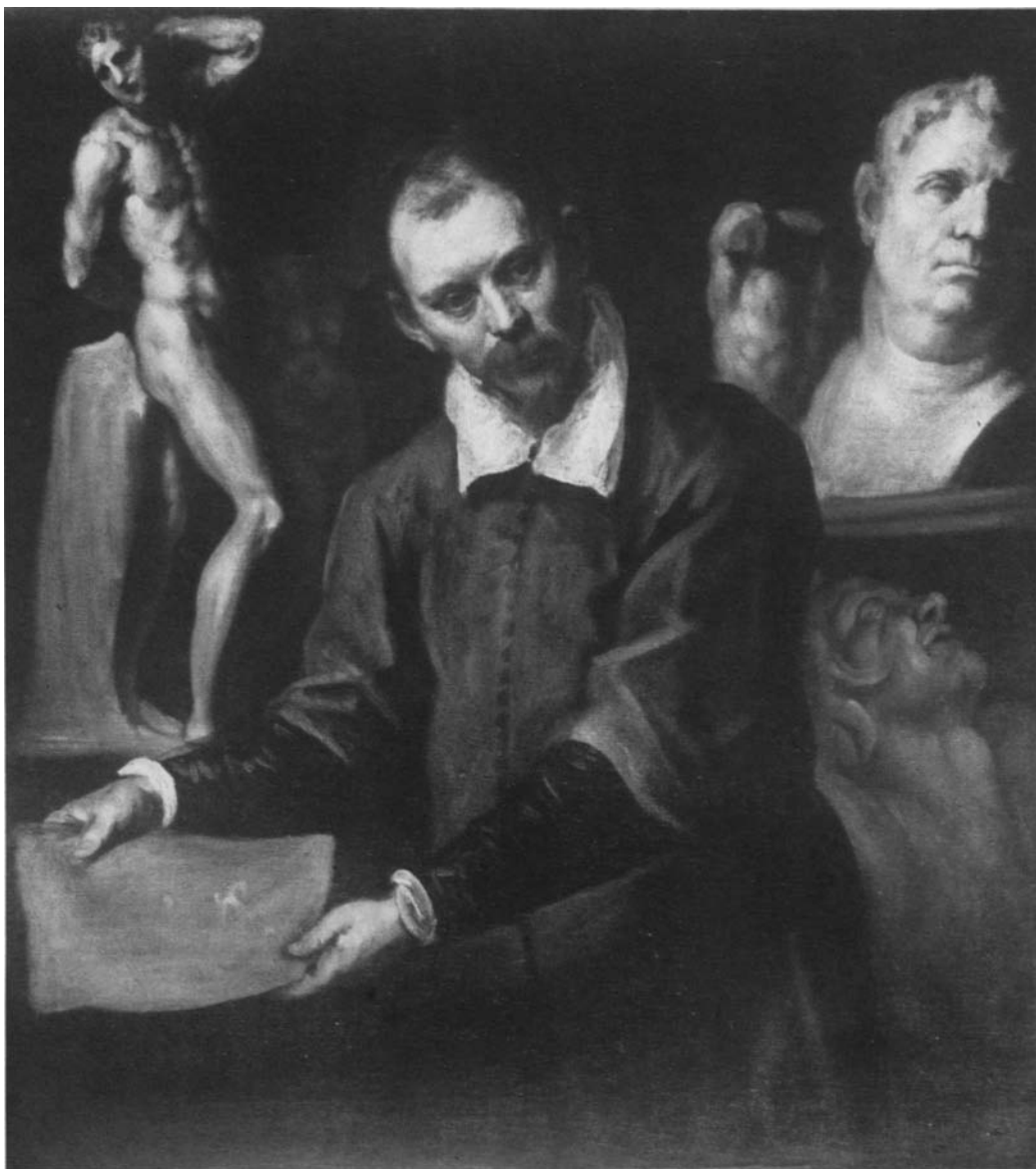
3. Baldassare Peruzzi, *Study for the Presentation of the Virgin*, Detail of a man giving alms, Paris, Louvre (Inv. 1410).

right, and laureate with the inscription A . VITELLIVS . GERMANICVS . IMP . AVG . P . M . TR . P (see R. Lawrence, *The Paduans, Medals by Giovanni Cavino*, Hewitt, N.J., 1964, no. 27); and it corresponds to obverses of Roman sesterces (see: H. Mattingly and E. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage: Vol. I, Augustus to Vitellius*, London, 1923, 226, nos. 8 and 9). Cavino probably had access to the Venice sculpture or the plaster cast of it owned by the Paduan, Marco Mantova Benavides (1489-1582) (see note 7). Cavino made numerous medals of Benavides and Cardinal Marino Grimani of Venice (Lawrence, *Paduans*, 23ff, nos. 84-86, 93 and 94). The reverse shows Mars helmeted, advancing right, carrying a trophy over his shoulder, holding a spear and bears the inscription S . C (See: Lawrence, *Paduans*, 12, no. 28); and it corresponds to reverses of Roman sesterces (See: Mattingly, *Imperial Coinage*, Vol. I, 268, nos. 3 and 7, pl. XVI). For a discussion of the coin portraits of Vitellius see: H. Jucker, "Vitellius," *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums in Bern*, 1961-1962 41/42, 331-357.

4. C.L. Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*, Wien, 1967/68, 189ff., pl. LXb.

5. Ibid, 129 and 134, pls. LXII and LXIIIb. I believe the sketch of the head next to that of the "Vitellius" was derived from Inv. 141 in the Museo Archeologico in Venice which was considered to be a portrait of Vespasian. The details of hair are probably due to the artist's attempt at caricature but may be copied from the sculpture before it was reworked by a Renaissance sculptor. The head of Vespasian was among the sculptures of the Grimani bequest. Traversari, *Ritratti*, 103ff, pl. 87.

6. From 1523 until 1525 the "Vitellius" was stored at S. Chiara di Murano. Anti, *II Museo Archeologico*, 7. From 1593, for nearly two centuries, the sculpture was shown in a public museum which adopted the title of the collection, Statuario Pubblico. Perry, "Statuario," 75ff.



4. Follower of Jacopo Tintoretto, *Portrait of a Gentleman*, early 17th Cent., Birmingham City Art Gallery (photo: Courtesy of the City of Birmingham).

“Gran testa bellissima studiosa di Aulo Vitellio imperatore sopra la quale disegnò et imparò il famoso Egreggio Pittor venetiano, Giacomo Robusti detto Tintoretto essendo tra relievi più perfetto.”⁷

The plaster cast of the Tintoretto shop is mentioned by Domenico Tintoretto in his will of 1630.

“I bequeath to my brother (Marco) all the casts in the studio. And if Bastian (Sebastiano Cassieri) my boy will still be in my service at the time of my death, I bequeath to him four of these casts, namely a head of Vitellius, a full-length figure, and two torsos of his own choice.”⁸

It is likely the cast mentioned in the will is the one

shown in the *Portrait of a Gentleman* attributed to a follower of Jacopo Tintoretto in the Birmingham City Art Gallery (Fig. 4).⁹

The first list of Tintoretto drawings presumably from the plaster cast of the Grimani “Vitellius” was by D. Hadeln, who mentioned nine drawings and attributed them to Jacopo.¹⁰ The Tietzes rejected Hadeln’s

7. Quoted in Candida, *I Calchi*, 39.

8. Quoted in Tietzes, *Drawings*, 258.

9. P.C. Brookes, *Exhibition of Birmingham Paintings at Messrs. Wilderstein*, London, 1970, no. 10. The attribution and possible identification was verbally confirmed by Mr. Brooks (April 20, 1977).

10. Hadeln, *Tintoretto Zeichnungen*, 24.

attributions, preferring to attribute the drawings to Tintoretto's shop. Furthermore, the Tietzes added ten drawings to the list, making a total of nineteen drawings ultimately deriving from the Grimani "Vitellius;"¹¹ six additional Tintoretto drawings after the Grimani "Vitellius" are listed here.

All of the twenty-five drawings are in black chalk, and all except two have white heightening. The drawings appear on sheets of many different colors ranging in size from 430 x 280 mm to 260 x 200 mm. At least eleven of the sheets were drawn on the verso. Most of the sketches occupy nearly all of the paper and are of the plaster cast seen from various angles. A plurality of the drawings are of the head seen slightly from below.

A very fine drawing by Jacopo Tintoretto of the Grimani "Vitellius" is in the University of Erlangen. On the verso is a refined version of the study on the recto (Fig. 5).¹² The drawing is very close in style to Jacopo's sketches of the same model from the Koenigs Collection and the École des Beaux Arts. It is evident in these drawings that Jacopo did not use white chalk solely for accent, that is, "white heightening;" rather he used white to help model the head, and finally he covered the white with black chalk for half-shadows. The drawing in Erlangen exemplifies the procedure and results suggested by M. Boschini when he refers to Tintoretto's collection of casts after some of Michelangelo's sculptures.

"... e ridottosi in una picciolo stanza, con un lumicino impiegava il di e la notte nel ritrarli in disegno innumerabili fiata in ogni positura; formandosi in questa guisa nell'idea un'ottima cognizione di bel contorno, di perfette forme, e un possesso del chiaroscuro e di tutte in fine parti del buon disegno."¹³

The drawing of the Grimani "Vitellius" in the Rasini Collection in Milan is inscribed "Questa testa si (di?) é de man de madona Marietta."¹⁴ Based on this inscription the drawing has been attributed to Marietta Tintoretto (1556-1590). In contrast to Jacopo's interest in showing the effects of light on the sculpture, the Rasini drawing shows Marietta's preference for a simple outline style; the effect of the drawing is mainly two-dimensional.

"Marietta aims more at neatness of execution than at picturesque effects; she is not urged by an abundance of creative ideas as was her brother Domenico."¹⁵



5. Jacopo Tintoretto, Drawing after the Grimani "Vitellius," Erlangen, Univ. Library (photo: Courtesy of the University of Erlangen).

British Museum, 1907-7-17-42, 43 and 53; to Tintoretto School, Florence, Uffizi, 734 and 1662E, Haarlem, Coll. Koenigs, I 340, London, British Museum, 1885-5-9-1656-1660, Munich, Graphische Sammlung, 2982, Naples, Gabinetto delle Stampe, Oxford, Christchurch Library, L 9, Paris, Louvre, 5382. Only eighteen drawings are listed by the Tietzes as they did not list L 10 in Oxford, Christchurch Library, a drawing noted by Hadeln. The drawing in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 717 is in my opinion not by anyone connected with the Tintoretto school, neither is the fine North Italian drawing sold in Munich, at A. Weinmüller on October 13th and 14th, 1938. H. Leporini, "Die Versteigerung von Handzeichnungen bei A. Weinmüller, München," *Pantheon*, 1938/Oct., 331.

12. The drawing is described in Tietzes, *Drawings*, 280 as the "head of a Roman Emperor" by Jacopo.

13. M. Boschini, *Descrizione di Tutte le Pubbliche Pitture della Città di Venezia e Isola Circonvicine o Sia Rinnovazione della Ricche Minere*, Reprint of 1733 ed., Venice, 1974, 40f. Although Tintoretto typically used the head for background figures as in his *Christ Before Pilate* in the Scuola di San Rocco, a more important use is shown in *The Last Supper* in Venice, Chiesa di San Polo.

14. A Morassi, *Disegni Antichi della Collezione Rasini in Milano*, Milan, 1937, 33.

15. Tietzes, *Drawings*, 293.

11. The Tietzes list the following drawings: To Jacopo, Haarlem, Coll. Koenigs, I 341, and Paris, Ecole des Beaux Arts, 12054; to Marietta Tintoretto, Milan, Coll. Rasini; to Domenico Tintoretto, London



7. Here attributed to Veronese, Drawing after the Grimani "Vitellius," Windsor, The Royal Art Collection (photo: A.C. Cooper and Courtesy fo Windsor Library).



6. Paolo Veronese, *Feast in the House of Simon Levi*, 1573, Detail of the Steward, Venice, Academy (photo: Osvaldo Bohm).

Three drawings of the Grimani "Vitellius" appear on the versos of the oil sketches for the *Temptation of a Saint* in the bound volume of drawings by Domenico Tintoretto (c. 1560-1635) in the British Museum. These drawings are rather weak in comparison with the other known drawings of the sculpture as noted in the misrepresentation of the contours of the cheeks and hair, the uncontrolled use of shadow in 1907-7-17-53, and the unrealistically small eyes in 1907-7-17-43. The drawings are probably by a member of Domenico's school and may be dated after 1594, the year of Jacopo's death.¹⁶

Two other drawings which may be grouped on the basis of style are in the St. Annen Museum in Lübeck and the Budapest Museum of Fine Art. These drawings are more correctly attributed to a follower of Jacopo Tintoretto due to the highly individual conception of the head which is distinctly different from that shown in the drawings by Jacopo and Marietta but which is similar to that shown in the plaster cast in the painting in the Birmingham City Art Gallery. The drawing in the

Munich Graphische Sammlung is related to 1662E in the Uffizi and is probably a school drawing.

Of the twenty-five drawings some may be grouped on the basis of similar views. Four of the five drawings in the British Museum (1885-5-9-1656 to 1658 and 1660) are of the head turned slightly right and seen slightly from below, a view roughly matching that shown in a relatively unknown sketch on the verso of a drawing recently purchased by a private collector from Paris. The drawing in the Pierpont Morgan Library shows the head in nearly the same highly foreshortened view as the drawing in the École des Beaux Arts.

The surprisingly large number of drawings of the Grimani "Vitellius" testifies to the great importance of the head as a training piece in the Tintoretto shop, but

16. Ibid., 263-265. In 1594 Domenico assumed control of the shop. "Domenico Tintoretto evidently considered opening his studio, with its famous collection of casts to all painters for the purpose of study." D. Rosand, "The Crisis of the Venetian Renaissance Tradition," *L'Arte*, Milan, 1970, XI, 32.

the magnificence of the Grimani "Vitellius" was recognized by most if not all Venetian artists of the sixteenth century. Jacopo Bassano and members of his shop, Bonifazio Veronese and Schiavone used the head in many of their paintings to depict main figures as well as secondary ones.¹⁷ Perhaps the most creative transformations of the Grimani "Vitellius" are to be found in examples by Paolo Veronese.

In 1573 Veronese painted the *Feast in the House of Levi* for the refectory of the Dominican Convent of St. John and St. Paul.

"La cosa però più ammirabile, che veggasi in questo quadro sono le bellissime, e differenti arie di teste, nelle quali Paolo vi pose tutto lo studio ritraendo nella figura d'un grasso convittato la testa Vitellio in modo singolare, oltre molte altre tolte dal naturale con raro, e ben inteso carattere."¹⁸

In the inquisition of 18. July 1573 Veronese described the *Feast in the House of Levi*. He said he painted Levi in front of the column on the left, and in front of the column on the right he painted "a steward who I imagined had come there for his own pleasure to see how things were going at the table" (Fig. 6).¹⁹

A drawing in Windsor Castle showing the profile view of the Grimani "Vitellius" clearly proves Veronese's use of the head for the steward (Fig. 7). The drawing is of the head in near profile looking right. It is in black chalk with white heightening, and it is lined. A reversed view of the head was chosen for the painting, but the



8. Paolo Veronese, *Drawing of the Head of a Woman*. Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago (photo: Courtesy of the Art Institute).

17. The Grimani "Vitellius" type occurs in Bonifazio's paintings in Milan, Brera, *Christ at Emmaus*, *The Finding of Moses*, and *The Adulteress Before the Redeemer*. D. Westphal, *Bonifazio Veronese*, Munich, 1931, pls. X and XVII. C. Ricci, *La Pinacoteca di Brera*, Bergamo, 1907, no. 145; and in Venice, Academy, *The Judgement of Solomon*, Westphal, pl. VII; and in Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, *The Finding of Moses*. H. Menz, *Venezianische Malerei 15 Bis 18 Jahrhundert*, Dresden, 1968, pl. 16.

A drawing by Jacopo Bassano of the "Vitellius" is on the verso of a sketch in the Louvre of Abraham for the fresco, *The Sacrifice of Abraham* c. 1575 in the church at Cartigliano. M. Serullaz and R. Bacou, *Le XVI Siecle European Dessins du Louvre*, Paris, 1965, 50. M. Muraro discusses this drawing and the uses of the head by members of the Bassano shop.

"... Jacopo e i suoi figli hanno tenuto presente il cosiddetto 'Ritratto di Vitellio' per meglio esaltare e caratterizzare un personaggio della loro cerchia: e il tipo biondo che abbiamo notato a Cartigliano, a San Giacomo dall'Orto e che, dopo la 'Predica di San Paolo' di Marostica, ritornerà, alquanto invecchiato, nella 'Resurrezione di Lazzaro' delle Gallerie veneziane.

M. Muraro, "Jacopo e Francesco da Ponte a Cartigliano," *Arte Veneta*, VI, 1952, 55. Examples of the "Vitellius" type are in the following paintings by Jacopo Bassano: Cittadella, Arcipretale, *Supper in the House of Emmaus*. E. Arslan, *I Bassano*, Milan, I, 1960, fig. 1; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, *Dispute in the Temple*, Arslan, II, pl. 27; Hampton Court, *Martyrdom of a Saint*, Arslan, II, pl. 43; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, *Way to Calvary*, Arslan, II,

pl. 50; and Civezzano, Parrocchiale, Arslan, II, pl. 176. The type also occurs in the following paintings attributed to Leandro Bassano: Turin, Galleria Sabauda, *The Small Market*, N. Gabrielli, *Galleria Sabauda Maestri Italiani*, Torino, 1971, pl. 63; Venezia, Museo Civico, *Marriage at Cana*, Arslan, II, pl. 271; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, *November*, Arslan, II, pl. 286; Venice, Brass Coll., *Susanna*, Arslan, II, pl. 310; Stockholm, National Museum, *The Supper of Anthony and Cleopatra*, Arslan, II, pl. 313. An example by Francesco Bassano is shown in Florence, Pitti, *Christ at the House of Martha*, Brogi 7822.

The "Vitellius" type also appears in Rome, Galleria Borghese, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, no. 186, attributed to Antonio Palma (ca. 1510-15 to ca. 1575), Brogi 15920. The use of the Grimani "Vitellius" by Andrea Schiavone is noted in Tietzes, *Drawings*, 249.

18. Boschini, *Descrizione*, 251. It is not clear whether Boschini noted the "Vitellius" as the source of the steward or the figure under the left arch. Noting the important use of the head and for a fat figure, it is likely Boschini meant the steward. The quotation is interpreted by G. Piovene and R. Marini, *L'Opera Completa del Veronese*, Milan, 1968, 114, to refer to the figure under the left arch. P. Meller recognized the Grimani "Vitellius" as the model for the steward and suggested that it was also the model for the seated figure.

19. Copies of Suetonius' *Twelve Caesars* were available in Venice even before 1500; Venetian artists could have known the legendary gluttonous character of Vitellius. The most common use of the sculpture was as a model for stewards' or dinner guests, though it appears also as figures unrelated to food. See R. Klein, *Italian Art 1500-1600: Sources and Documents*, New Jersey, 1966, 130.



9. Here attributed to Veronese, Drawing after the Grimani "Vitellius," Windsor, The Royal Art Collection (photo: Courtesy of Windsor Library).



10. Paolo Veronese, *Supper in Emmaus*, 1559-1560, Paris, Louvre. Detail.

drawn head appears to be preparatory to the painting.²⁰ Most importantly, the full side of the head and the shaded front of the face are shown in both works. The mouth is shown close to the nose in these two works—slightly unlike the positioning of the mouth in the sculpture. The awkwardness of the mouth in the drawing is due to the slightly outward turn of the head and is eliminated in the painting by means of the strict profile view. The hair line meets the ear at the same place in the drawing as it does in the painting and is a

straight cut. Shadow falls across the bridge of the nose in equivalent locations. The corner of the eye, the nostril, and the creases of the neck and chin are delineated and shaded in the same way. In general the heads of the drawing and the painting appear to be similarly aged versions of the head shown in the sculpture, the flesh being portrayed as softer and more flabby.

The Windsor drawing has been attributed on the basis of style to Marietta Tintoretto, the Rasini drawing being the basis of comparison.²¹ Clearly Marietta's rapid heavy-handed outlines are completely unlike the fine lines of the Windsor drawing shown in the hair, and in the parallel crosshatchings forming the shadow of the ear. While the concept of the head in the Rasini drawing is affiliated with other renderings by members of the Tintoretto shop, the concept of the head in the Windsor drawing is clearly not.

The Windsor drawing is here attributed to Veronese not only on the basis of the unmistakable similarity to the head of the steward in Veronese's painting, but on the basis of a comparison with other chalk drawings of heads believed to be by Veronese. In Veronese's *Head of a Woman* in the Art Institute of Chicago, the outlines and the features of the face are similarly suggested with only a few heavy-handed lines (Fig. 8).²² Fine parallel hatchings of the nose and eyes of the female head are like the hatchings that indicate the shadow of the ear in the Windsor drawing. The white chalk used to model the ridges of the ear is carefully applied to well-defined areas, an application to be found in many other drawings by Veronese.

Another drawing in Windsor Castle, also in black chalk, is of the Grimani "Vitellius" seen from above (Fig. 9). In Windsor, it is listed as by Marietta Tintoretto because of its similarity to the profile drawing. However, this drawing is inscribed on the mount "P. VERONESE" in an 18th century hand.²³ Based on stylistic considerations the attribution to

20. A. Popham and J. Wilde, *Italian Drawings at Windsor Castle*, London, 1949, 338, no. 959. The drawing appears extensively rubbed, and it is likely a counter-proof was made from the drawing so that the head was reversed as it is in the painting. Veronese recognized the right side of the "Vitellius" as the better of the two sides. He could have easily made a drawing of the left side, but he would have had to copy the awkward satyr-like ear of this side.

21. Morassi, *Disegni*, 33.

22. D. Sutton, "Sunlight and Movement, Splendours of Venetian Draughtsmanship," *Apollo*, London, 1974, 100/Oct., 277, pl. 8.

23. Popham and Wilde, *Italian Drawings*, 338, no. 960. Although Veronese is not well known for his chalk drawings, an inventory of Veronese's studio taken in 1685 lists 126 charcoal or black drawings. The Tietzes attribute only sixteen drawings in black chalk to Veronese. Tietzes, *Drawings*, 334.

Veronese is, in my opinion, correct. As in Veronese's drawing of the *Head of a Woman* in the Art Institute of Chicago, the head and features are shown in an outline style, but more importantly the hair is indicated by numerous straight lines, a typical Veronese mannerism. Other drawings showing this trait are in London, Collection Archibald G.B. Russell, *The Head of a Negro*; Paris, Louvre, *The Head of a Negro*; and Florence, Uffizi, *Head of a Woman*.²⁴

As is the case with the profile drawing of the Grimani "Vitellius" this drawing proves Veronese's use of the sculpture as a model for an important figure in one of his paintings. Specifically, this drawing was one of a group of sketches prepared for the head of the waiter in Veronese's painting in the Louvre, *The Supper in the House of Emmaus* (Fig. 10). It is evident Veronese was interested in copying only the head; the fact that he did not adopt the sideward pose of the bust is of little importance. As is the case with the profile study, Veronese reversed the view of the head for the painting. What serves to connect the drawing with the painting is the very dark outlining of the facial features and even more importantly the distribution of shadow. Perhaps the most peculiar similarity is shown in the nearly black rounded shadow of the right eye of the two heads. As in the *Feast in the House of Levi*, Veronese changed the image of the Grimani "Vitellius" to depict a waiter older and less refined.

An important use of the Grimani "Vitellius" by Titian is shown in his *Christ Mocked* ca. 1575 in the City Museum of Saint Louis, Missouri (Fig. 11).²⁵ Titian used the Grimani "Vitellius" as a model for the head of Pilate. The small mouth, heavy jowls, and full cheeks are the same as the features of the sculpture. Perhaps

24. D.F. von Hadeln, *Venezianische Zeichnungen der Spätrenaissance*, Berlin, 1926, pls. 29, 51, 52. The "Vitellius" type occurs in the following paintings by Veronese: Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, *Christ and the Centurion*, *Wedding at Cana*, *Christ Bearing the Cross*, Piovene and R. Marini, *L'Opera Completa del Veronese*, Milan, 1968, pls. 154b and 150, H. Menz, *Venezianische Malerei*, pl. 107; Venice, Ateneo Veneto, *Christ Among the Doctors*, P. Zampetti, *Guida alle Opere D'Arte della Scuola di S. Fantin* (Ateneo Veneto), Venice, 1973, pls. 15 and 16; Paris, Louvre, *Feast in the House of Simon the Pharisee*, *Esther and Ahasuerus*, Marini, pl. 163. A. Orliac, *Veronese*, translated by M. Chamot, Paris, 1940, pl. 137; Florence, Uffizi, *Esther before Ahasuerus*, Marini, pl. 31; Milan, Brera, *The Supper in the House of Simon*, Marini, pl. 137; Madrid, Prado, *Wedding at Cana*, Orliac, pl. 70; Venice, Academy, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, Orliac, pl. 100; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Esther before Ahasuerus*, Marini, pl. 225; Rimini, S. Giuliano, *The Martyrdom of Saint Julian*, Orliac, pl. 111.

25. H. Wetthey lists five copies of the Saint Louis painting. In these paintings the Grimani "Vitellius" is not as well understood. The current opinion of the Saint Louis painting is that it is a sketch which remained in Titian's shop as a study piece. H. Wetthey, *The Religious Paintings*, New York, 1969, fn. 130.



11. Titian, *Ecce Homo*, 1575, Saint Louis, City Art Museum (photo: Courtesy of St. Louis City Art Museum). Detail.



12. Tintoretto, Drawing after the Grimani "Vitellius," Oxford, Christchurch Library (photo: Courtesy of Christ Church, Oxford).



13. Jacopo Palma (the Younger), Drawing of the Head of a Man, Rome, Academy of Saint Luke.

better than any other artist, Titian was able to closely approximate the highly expressive quality of the sculpture.

A drawing of the Grimani "Vitellius" in the Oxford Christchurch Library is of the same three-quarter view of the sculpture as the head of Pilate in Titian's painting (Fig. 12).²⁶ The general appearance of the head of this drawing and the head in Titian's painting is nearly the same. Though I believe the drawing is correctly attributed on the basis of its style to Tintoretto, the drawing makes it clear Titian's model for the head of Pilate was the Grimani "Vitellius."²⁷

One other interesting Venetian adaptation of the Grimani "Vitellius" is shown in a sketch from the book of drawings by Jacopo Palma (the Younger) in the Academy of Saint Luke, Rome (Fig. 13). The drawing, described as the *Head of a Man*, is of the sculpture looking slightly right with lifelike long hair and Roman drapery details. It is drawn in reddish-brown and black chalk on oatmeal colored paper, 385 x 255 mm.²⁸ That Palma made more imitative sketches of the Grimani "Vitellius" is known from an

engraving in the Uffizi by Giacomo Franco after Palma's design for an illustration of an early drawing book published in 1611 entitled *De excellentia et nobilitate delineationis libri duo*.²⁹ Three views of the head are among the sketches of heads in the Uffizi engraving.

The Grimani "Vitellius" was known through copies and plaster casts in other artistic centers of northern Italy. In Verona, for instance, Paolo Farinati and Felice Brusasorci used the head in representations of Vitellius as one of the series of twelve emperors mentioned by Suetonius.³⁰ Less known is the use of the Grimani "Vitellius" by Antonio Campi and presumably by the other members of the Campi shop in Cremona.³¹

26. Black chalk with white heightening on buff, 393 x 263. On the verso is another study of the "Vitellius." D. Hadeln, *Tintoretto Zeichnungen* lists it as by Jacopo as does J.B. Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church Oxford*, Oxford, 1976, 207, pls. 440 and 441. The Tietzes list it as shop. The painting in Saint Louis was originally considered to be by Tintoretto, A.L. Mayer, "An Unknown *Ecce Homo* by Titian," *The Burlington Magazine*, LXVII, New York, 1935, 35.

27. A drawing of the "Vitellius" tentatively attributed to Titian is in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. The drawing is of the head seen from below nearly in profile looking left, in crayon, 242 x 177 mm. H. Wetthey, III 237. Titian used the "Vitellius" type for the head of one of the kings in his painting(s) of the *Adoration of the Magi* versions of which are in the Escorial, Milan, Cleveland, and Paris, F. Valcanover, *L'Opera Completa di Tiziano*, Milano, 1969, pls. 407 and 422-425.

28. L. Grassi, *Il Libro dei Disegni di Jacopo Palma il Giovane all'Accademia di S. Luca*, Roma, 1968, 27, pl. 17.

29. "The complete volume thereby offers a full set of exempla for the artist, models for the drawing of the human body as well as a set of classical formulas to guarantee a certain iconographic correctness."

D. Rosand, "The Crisis of the Venetian Renaissance Tradition," *L'Arte*, XI, 1970, 12.

"Among the model heads (shown in the Uffizi engraving) are several well known ancient portraits, busts of the emperors Vitellius and Galba, as well as Laocoön."

Ibid., 27, pl. 16.

30. Two drawings of Vitellius by Paolo Farinati are in London, Hallsborough Gallery (1972) and in Windsor, Royal Art Coll. (4994). The heads of these sketches were studied from the "Vitellius." Perhaps these full-lengths were for the frescoes of the twelve emperors mentioned by D. Zanandrei for the Casa Guarienti ai Filippini. F. dal Forno, *Paolo Farinati*, Verona, 1965, 63. A use of "Vitellius" probably from a copy is shown in Felice Brusasorci's painting of the Emperor in Valeggio, Coll. Portalupi, L. Magagnato suggests that Veronese artists had access to the copy of the "Vitellius" by the school of Micheli Sanmicheli (ca. 1530) for the facade of the Palazzo Bevilacqua in Verona. L. Magagnato, *Cinquant'Anni di Pittura Veronese 1580-1630*, Venice(?), 1974, 62ff, pls. 33 and 35.

31. Battles at or near Cremona determined the reign of Emperor Vitellius. Within thirty miles of Cremona the Soldiers of Vitellius defeated the soldiers of Otho; as a result Otho killed himself, and Vitellius marched to Rome to crown himself emperor. Cremona was also the site of the fall of Vitellius—the triumph of Vespasian.



14. Antonio Campi, *Susanna and the Elders*, ca. 1570. Brescia, Pinacoteca Tosio-Martinengo (photo: Courtesy of the Pinacoteca Tosio-Martinengo).



15. Antonio Campi?, *Drawing of Susanna and the Elders*, c. 1570, Worcester, Mass., City Art Museum (photo: Courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum).



16. Antonio Campi, Drawing of a Standing Youth and the Grimani "Vitellius," Milan, Ambrosiana (photo: Perotti).

Antonio Campi (1546 - c. 1591) painted *Susanna and the Elders*, for the Municipal Palace in Brescia c. 1570 (Fig. 14). The painting was part of a series of eight scenes of justice in the Sala dei Dottori, Giudici Collegiati.³²

A preparatory drawing for this painting is in the Worcester Art Museum in Massachusetts (Fig. 15). The drawing is in pen and ink on light brown paper 10¼x 16½ in. Antonio Campi adopted the pose of the figure

of the elderly man on the far right in the drawings for the elder on the left in his painting. E. Tietze-Conrat writes concerning an old collector's attribution of the drawing:

"His attribution [incorrectly to Titian] which is based on mere quality and perhaps also on the

32. S. Ostrow, *Visions and Revisions*, Providence, 1968, 20f., pls. 1 and 2.



17. Antonio Campi, Drawing after the Grimani "Vitellius," London, Collection C. King (photo: Sotheby's).



18. Antonio Campi, *Susanna and the Elders*, c. 1570 (detail), Brescia, Pinacoteca Tosio-Martinengo (photo: Courtesy of the Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo). See fig. 14.

general composition with dominating figures in the foreground and on the Vitelliustype of one of the old men, deserves no discussion."³³

I have found an unrelated, but nevertheless detailed drawing by Antonio Campi of the Grimani "Vitellius" on a sheet in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana in Milan (Fig. 16).³⁴ The Ambrosiana drawing shows a figure of a youth in the center of the paper, and the head of "Vitellius" in larger scale in the lower right corner. The drawing is in black chalk with many lines drawn in ink, 262 x 191 mm.

The small sketchy head of the figure on the extreme right in the Worcester drawing is a simplified version, at a different angle, of the "Vitellius" study in the Ambrosiana. In both drawings Antonio Campi drew numerous creases in the forehead, downward turned corners of the mouth, scanty outlines to define the hair, and distressed bags under the eyes.

For the painting however, Antonio Campi slightly changed the appearance of the head. He painted a younger and bolder type instead of the older and meeker type shown in the Worcester and Ambrosiana drawings. Whereas in the drawings the eyebrows curve downward as do the corners of the mouth, in the painting the visible eyebrow and the corners of the

mouth curve upward. The hair is uneven in the drawing, but it is even in the painting.

Recently two drawings of the *Head of a Roman Emperor* tentatively attributed by P. Pouncey to Antonio Campi were sold at Sotheby's to Mr. Clifford King of London (Fig. 17).³⁵ These red chalk drawings, 256 x 216 mm. and 231 x 192 mm., are also of the Grimani "Vitellius." The larger drawing shows the head looking right and is more naturalistic with curly, even hair. The other drawing is more sculptural and is seen in profile looking left. The odd looking ear indicates the drawing was done directly from the Grimani "Vitellius" or from an accurate plaster copy of it.

33. E. Tietze-Conrat, "A Master Drawing Drawing by Antonio Campi," *Art in America*, 27, New York, 1939, 160-163. The Worcester drawing was probably used only for a very general concept of the composition for the painting. Antonio Campi probably made more detailed studies. The drawing has been discussed as by Giulio Campi; Antonio referred to Giulio's rough sketch to make his own drawings and to do the painting, Ostrow, *Visions*, 20, suggests that this kind of cooperation was common in 16th century workshops.

34. G. Bora, *Disegni di Manieristi Lombardi*, Vicenza, 1971, 36, no. 38.

35. Sotheby and Co., *Old Master Drawings*, London, 10 Oct. 1974, Lot 120, 23, pl. 10.



19. Wallerand Vaillant, *A Young Artist in His Studio*, sold at Sotheby's April 19, 1972, lot 86,(photo: A.C. Cooper).

The slightly larger more naturalistic drawing of "Vitellius" of the King Collection is roughly similar to the head of the elder in the painting in Brescia and may even be a study for it (Fig. 18). Subtle differences are noted in the somewhat longer, more upright and slightly outward turned head of the painting, but it is important to note that the lifelike facial modeling and naturalistic treatment of the hair and mouth occur in both works.

Though the use of the head in Campi's painting is not immediately recognizable, when one considers the intermediary stages—that is, the drawings of the Grimani "Vitellius" and the sketch for the composition—the use of the Grimani "Vitellius" is clearly evident.

Renaissance artists of Northern Italy appreciated the unique physiognomy of the Grimani "Vitellius" and they regarded it as the most important sculpture for the study of the representation of heads. The painters transformed the image of the sculpture not only to disguise their source but to create lifelike characters of various roles. For the most part, bold and noble characters created from the magnificent Grimani "Vitellius" served to support and enhance characters studied from live models.

Preliminary research indicates the tradition of studying and using copies after the Grimani "Vitellius" was continued by 17th century Netherlandish artists.³⁶ A particularly fine Dutch example illustrating the use of a cast of the head as a model for drawing is shown in Wallerand Vaillant's painting *A Young Artist in His Studio*, sold at Sotheby's April 19, 1972, lot 86 (Fig. 19). An earlier example is shown in Hendrick Goltzius' painting of the emperor in the Grunewald Castle in Berlin (Fig. 20).³⁷ I believe Rubens used the head as the model for his painting of Bacchus in the Hermitage (Fig. 21). The view of the head is similar to that shown in 1885-5-9-1658 in the British Museum attributed to a member of the Tintoretto school (Fig. 23). However, the youthful conception of the head and in particular the small mouth is due to the style of the copy of the



20. Attributed to Hendrick Goltzius, *Bust of the Emperor Vitellius*, c. 1616, Berlin, Grunewald Castle.



21. Peter Paul Rubens, *Bacchus*, Leningrad, Hermitage Museum.

36. Rembrandt owned two sculptures of "Vitellius" K. Clark, *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance*, Gluckstadt, 1966, 193-209. Presumably these were based upon the Grimani head.

37. The painting was part of a series of emperors painted 1618-1628 for Prince Frederik Hendrik. As Goltzius died in 1617, it is believed the painting was done before 1616 and without the intention of being part of the series. R. Oldenbourg, "Die Niederländischen Imperatorenbilder in Königlichen Schlosse zu Berlin," *Jahrbuch der Königl. Preuss. Kunstmuseen*, XXXVIII, 1917, 182-191, pl. 106. Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlosse und Garten, *Jagdschloss Grunewald*, Berlin, 1975, 52. J. Van Gelder notes the monogram of Frans Pietersz. de Grebber (Haarlem 1573-1649) and suggests the painting was by him. J. Van Gelder, "Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, III, 1950/1951, 133, fn. 1.

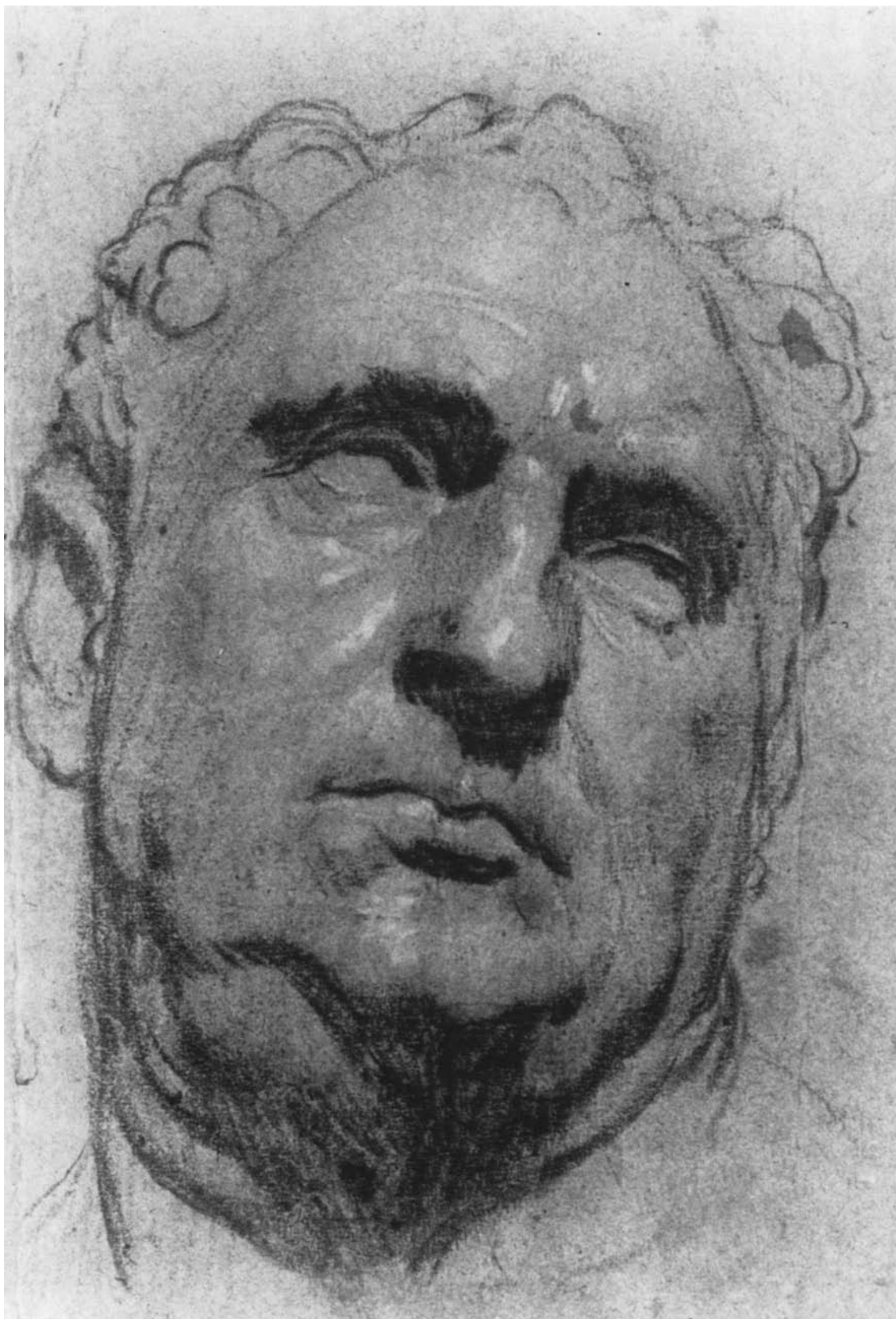


22. Attributed to Peter Paul Rubens, Drawing of the Head of "Vitellius," Vienna, Albertina (photo: Courtesy of the Albertina).

Grimani "Vitellius" shown in the drawing attributed to Rubens in the Albertina (Fig. 22).³⁸

38. A drawing in Chatsworth attributed to Rubens is allegedly from an Italian copy of "Vitellius" in Ruben's house in Antwerp. F. Baudoin, *Ruben's House: A Summary Guide*, Antwerp, 1964, 19. The

sketch in Chatsworth was taken from the obverse of an antique coin. The direct source and the purpose of the Albertina drawing is not clear; M. Rooses, *L'Oeuvre de P.P. Rubens*, Anvers, 1892, V, 213, claims it was after the sculpture in the Louvre. As P. Cervera has suggested, it could have been studied from a painting of the sculpture as suggested by the treatment of the eyes.



23. Tintoretto School. Drawing after the Grimani "Vitellius," London, British Museum (photo: Courtesy of the British Museum).

A Description of Six Relatively Unknown Tintoretto Drawings of the Grimani "Vitellius"

1. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, 58.392.

Nearly frontal view of head, looking slightly right, and tilted left.

(verso: similar view but looking slightly more right)

Charcoal heightened with white on gray-green paper; 312 x 222 mm.

Bibliography: Ivan Fenyő, *Disegni Veneti del Museo Budapest*, Neri Pozza, Vicenza, 1965, 32.

The museum lists the drawing as by a member of Tintoretto's workshop. The drawing is related to the one Lübeck.

2. Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Bock 1542.

Nearly frontal view of head, turned slightly left, and seen slightly from below.

(verso: similar view but turned slightly more left)

Black chalk heightened with white on buff colored paper; 411 x 272 mm.

Late inscription: "Jacopo Tintoretto"

Bibliography: Tietzes, *Drawings*, 280.

The Tietzes attribute this drawing to Jacopo Tintoretto. It has been known as a drawing of the "head of a Roman Emperor."

3. Lübeck, St. Annen Museum, AB 389.

Nearly frontal view of head, turned slightly right, seen slightly from below.

Black chalk heightened with white on gray paper; 325 x 250 mm.

Provenience: Collection Sir Thomas Lawrence.

Bibliography: Max Hasse, *Die Zeichnungen Alter Meister in der Lübecker Graphiksammlung*, Museen für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck, 1969, 24.

The drawing is listed by the museum as by Jacopo Tintoretto. It is my opinion the drawing is related to the one in Budapest. P. Brookes says this drawing is most like the plaster cast in the Birmingham City Art Museum. Brookes, *Exhibition of Birmingham Paintings*, entry 10.

4. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1959.17.

View of head turned slightly right, seen in foreshortening from below.

Charcoal heightened with white on lined gray paper; 332 x 250 mm.

Bibliography: Bean and Stampfle, *Drawings from New York*, 68. It is my opinion the drawing is related to the one in Paris, École des Beaux Arts.

5. New York, Collection Woodner.

Frontal view of the head turned slightly left.

(verso: similar view)

Black chalk heightened with white on oatmeal colored paper; 406 x 278 mm.

Inscription: verso "Testa di Vitellio Cavata dal Rilevo," in brown ink.

Watermark: Greek cross on circle Briquet 2989)

Bibliography: Frederick G. Schab, *Woodner Collection I: A Selection of Old Master Drawings before 1700*, William H. Schab, New York, 1971, entry 31.

The drawing is listed in the collection as by Jacopo Tintoretto.

6. Paris, Collection Pilartz

Nearly frontal view of head, seen from below.

(recto: Study after Michelangelo's *Samson with the Two Defeated Philistines*)

Black chalk heightened with white; 350 x 229 mm.

Provenience: Christies, 29 June 1971, lot 53.

Exhibited: Royal Academy Diploma Galleries, The Paul Oppe Collection, 1958, no. 382. National Gallery of Canada, March 1961, no. 148. Edinburgh, *Italian 16th Century Drawings from British Private Collections*, 1969, no. 83, pl. 35.

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Postscript:

Sculptural versions of the head are shown in vanitas still-lives in Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Inv. 6579 attributed to a Leiden artist ca. 1628 (the painting includes a book by Suetonius); and in St. Gallen, Kunstmuseum by Georg Gsell (1617-1740). (See *Holländische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1967, 41, pl. 24; and Schweiz. Inst. für kunstwissenschaft, *Das Schweizer Stilleben im Barock*, Zurich, 1973, 52 and 58.



Fig. 1 Lion from the oinochoe figs. 4-14.

A WILD GOAT-STYLE OINOCHOE IN MALIBU

The handsome oinochoe illustrated in figs. 1,4-14 was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1972 (inventory number 72.AE.127) and is one of the few complete examples of Eastern Greek Wild Goat-style painting in the American west.¹

This article, with its conclusion that the oinochoe is not a genuine product of the seventh-sixth century B.C., was prepared before the Getty Museum's conservation laboratory had subjected the oinochoe to a thermoluminescence test, which demonstrated that it was indeed a forgery. The test was repeated three times in the laboratory of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Although complete the vessel has been broken and the slightly mottled look of the surface is due to

judicious retouching along breakage lines. The clay, as revealed on the underside of the vessel, has a pale pinkish-brown colour. The outside of the vase is covered with a yellowish-cream "paint", over which there is decoration in dark "glaze".² The paint is now very thin,

1) This study was made possible through the kindness of J. Frel, Curator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum.

Fragments from the shoulder of another Wild Goat-style oinochoe, decorated in what Ch. Kardara has called the style of Mixed Technique and recovered at Naucratis, are scheduled to be published in another article of this Journal.

2) Paint means what some call slip. Glaze means Greek glaze or Greek black glaze, as discussed by J.V. Noble. *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery* (New York 1965) 31-34.



Figs. 2-3 Attic cups by the Antiphon Painter. Norbert Schimmel Collection.

and reveals the texture of the clay surface, which has some grits and many tiny pocks. In several places where the glaze has worn away, the paint directly underneath (i.e., where glaze had been) appears to stand up in relief from the adjacent painted 'reserve' area (figs. 13-14). As curious as this relief effect is the porous look of the vessel's surface: pores in the surfaces of painted vases usually were eliminated by burnishing or by a thick slip in order to reduce absorbency and provide a slick ground receptive to brush work. Might our vase have been cleaned with some acidic solution which has altered the surface texture?

The glaze (applied also on the inside of the neck) has a fundamentally blue-black colour and lacks the warm brown tone characteristic of Greek glaze, even at its blackest. In several places, however, the black blends abruptly to reddish-brown (particularly conspicuous on the grazing goat just to the left of front center and on the inside of the neck; less so on the rump and haunch of the deer, shoulder, rump, and haunch of the lion, and the floral chain to left of front center), which evidently illustrates the effect of uneven firing in a three-stage firing operation.³

The glaze has worn thin or flaked off in places, particularly on lip and handle (where the intensively chipped effect even looks deliberate) and on the foot and lower body. In some places where the glaze has worn or been abraded there appears to be an undercoating of grey, like a separate layer between paint and glaze (e.g., on the rump of the front center goat and the body of the one which follows behind; and on the floral chain).

The inside surface of the vessel, as seen through the mouth aperture, has a uniform covering of what looks

like dilute glaze (which has run off the "peaks" and collected in the "valleys" of the wheel rings).

The vessel stands .365 m. high to the top of the handle, .305 m. to the top of the lip; and has a maximum diameter of .236 m. *Oinochoe*, the ancient Greek name now conventionally assigned to Greek one-handed pitchers like ours in Malibu, literally means 'wine-pourer';⁴ and although the shape would accommodate other liquids - and sometimes accommodated solids⁵ - ancient Greek scenes of daily life show that these vessels regularly were used for wine, which they transmitted in the socially-approved dilute form⁶

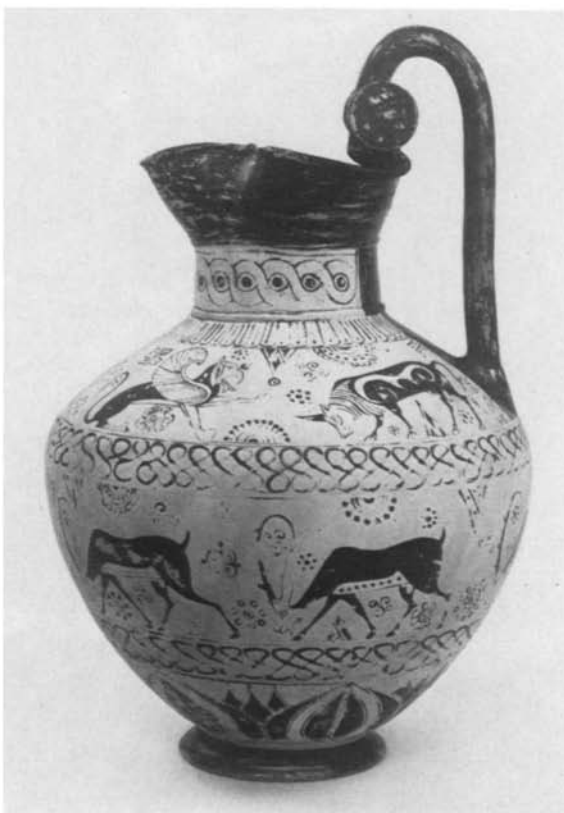
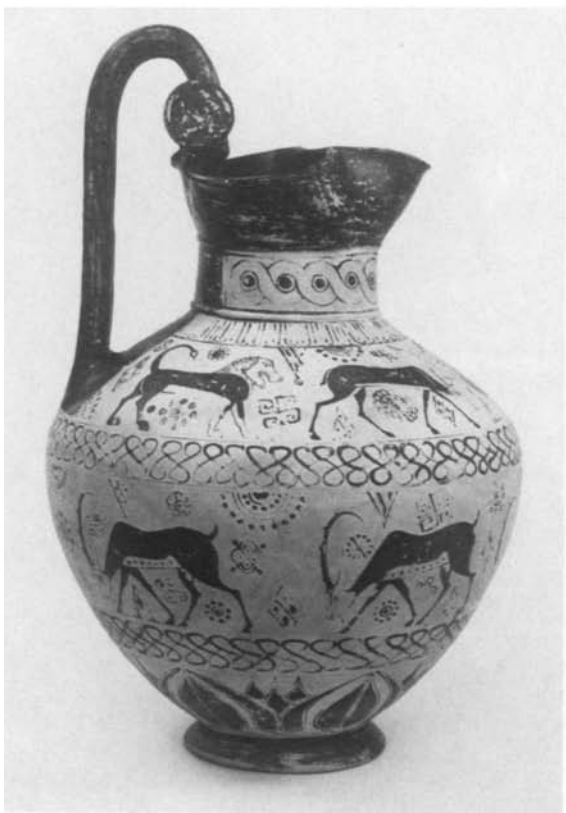
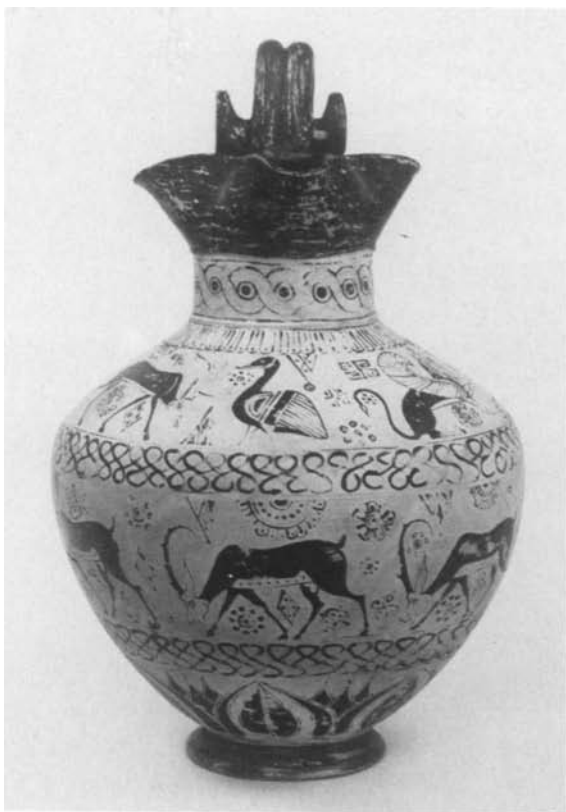
3) As discussed by Noble (supra, n. 2) 70-83.

4) G. M. A. Richter, M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York 1935) 18-20.

5) An oinochoe filled with cereal grains was recovered from Iron Age contexts at Gordion in Phrygia during the University of Pennsylvania excavations of 1973 (information kindly furnished by K. DeVries); cf. "amphorae" containing slices of salted dolphin in Armenia, Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5. 4. 28.

6) The Greeks' practice of drinking wine mixed with water is as old as Homer (*Ilias* 9. 203; *Odysseas* 9. 208-210; 14. 78; 21. 294). For ancient traditions concerning the origin of the practice, Philochorus fr. 18 (ed. Muller) ap. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 2. 38 c-d; cf. 5. 179 e, 15. 693 d-f; Philonides, *περὶ μύρων καὶ στεφάνων* ap. Athenaeus 15. 675 a-b. For various proportions, Athenaeus 10. 426 b - 427 a, 429 f - 430 a (five parts water to one part wine; 5:2, 4:1; 3:1, 2:1, 1:1, attested in the writings of Cratinus, Menander, Hesiod, Ion, Anacreon, etc.), *Odysseas* 9. 208-210 (20:1, for the wine given to Odysseus by Maron); cf. Chaeremo fr. 16 (ed. Nauck) ap. Aristotle, *Problemata* 3. 16 (873 a 25), Plutarch, *De Pythiae Oraculis* 23. 406 b, Athenaeus 13. 562 e (via Theophrastus, *Ἐρωτικὸς* fr. 107 [ed. Wimmer]: mixed according to the temper of the imbibitor).

For wine mixed with sea water, Phaenias of Eresus fr. 32 (ed. Muller) ap. Athenaeus 1. 31 f - 32 a (one part sea water to fifty parts must, to make οἶνος ἀνδοτύμια); Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 14. 9. 73 - 14. 10. 78 (produced at Clazomenae, Ephesus, Cos).



Figs. 4-7 Wild Goat-Style oinochoe. J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AE.127.



Fig. 8 Wild Goat-Style oinochoe. J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AE.127



Fig. 10 Wild Goat-Style oinochoe. J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AE.127



Fig. 9 Wild Goat-Style oinochoe. J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AE.127



Fig. 11 Wild Goat-Style oinochoe J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AE.127.

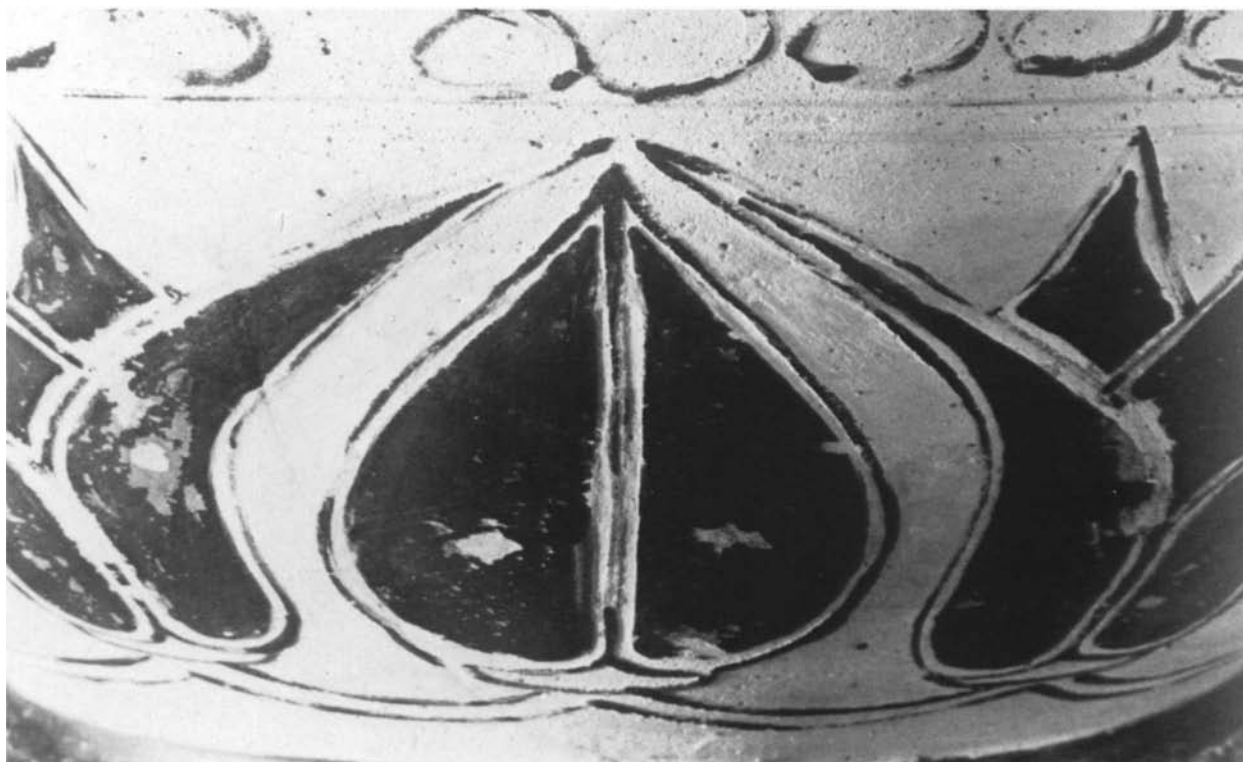


Fig. 12 Wild Goat-Style oinochoe J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AE.127.

from the 'mixer', crater or lebes, to the drinking cup (figs. 2-3).⁷

General features of the shape - broad shoulder, low neck, trefoil lip (the result of pinching, to make the spout more effective), 'reeded' handle, and rotelles at the juncture of handle and lip - are characteristic of oinochoae made in various regions of the Greek world during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.; but subtle distinctions of contour and proportion associate ours with varieties produced in the Eastern Greek region and commonly called 'Rhodian', from the island where many well-known examples have been recovered, although they evidently were also made and used in other parts of the Eastern Greek world.⁸

'Rhodian' oinochoae shape variation is largely coordinate to decorative style. The decorative style of our oinochoe (further, infra) is essentially the common and standardized one which Ch. Kardara has called *Classical Camiran*.⁹ Only the broad, swelling body of our oinochoe, however, is consistent with Classical Camiran oinochoae proportions; the upper parts are more or less idiosyncratic. The lip is rather high, and more appropriate to a 'Rhodian' variety of generally more slender form, used for a decorative style which has been called Naucratic or, by Kardara, *Mixed Technique*.¹⁰ The handle is composed of two rather than the

7) Figs. 2-3, kindly furnished by Mr. Norbert Schimmel and reproduced with his permission, show details from both sides of a cup by the Antiphon Painter in New York, Norbert Schimmel Collection; O. W. Muscarella, ed., *Ancient Art: the Norbert Schimmel Collection* (Mainz 1974) 61. cf. also the stamnos by Smikros, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, A 717, P. E. Arias, M. Hirmer, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* (London 1962) 322-323, pl. 105; Beazley ARV² 20 no. 1; and cup by the Dokimasia Painter, New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, 06.1021.188, Noble (supra, n. 2) 126; Beazley ARV² 413 no. 15.

Silenoi and hetairai who drink directly from amphorae, therefore, e.g., on cups by Epiktetos and in New York, Beazley ARV² 75 no. 56 and 50 no. 190 respectively, are uncouth not merely because their action is grotesque but because they consume wine neat.

For wine and water mixed in the cup, *Odysseas* 14. 78; Xenophanes fr. 5 (ed. Diels) ap. Athenaeus 11. 782 a; cf. Cratinus fr. 273 (ed. Kock) ap. Athenaeus 11. 782 d.

8) For recent attempts to identify the products of regional schools, H. Walter, *Frühe Samische Gefässe; Chronologie und Landschaftsstile ostgriechischer Gefässe* ("Samos", V; Bonn 1968); E. Walter-Karydi, *Samische Gefässe des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.; Landschaftsstile ostgriechischer Gefässe* ("Samos", VI. 1; Bonn 1973).

9) Ch. Kardara, *Rodiaké Angeiographia* ("Library of the Archaeological Society in Athens", 49; Athens 1963) 89-174; supplementary plate B (for oinochoae profiles). cf. R. M. Cook, *Gnomon* 37 (1963) 503-504, 506.

10. Kardara (supra, n. 9) 199-248; cf. E. R. Price, "Pottery of Naucratis", *JHS* 44 (1924) 180-222; K. F. Johansen, "Clazomenian Sarcophagus Studies", *Acta Archaeologica* 13 (1942) 1-64, also B.M. 61. 10-24.14.

usual three 'reeds'. Most curious of all are the position and spacing of the rotelles. The rotelle element of pottery oinochoae is borrowed from metalwork where it had been developed for practical reasons: in the metal oinochoe rotelles are simply the ornamental terminals of a bar which effectively broadens the grip of the handle and strengthens its attachment to the thin lip.¹¹ Only a few pottery oinochoae, notably the splendid Levi oinochoe in the Louvre, maintain the design of metal rotelles¹² but all reproduce the broad spacing and integration with the lip which are basic to the original concept. On our oinochoe in Malibu, however, the rotelles are spaced close to the handle and, when seen from the sides, appear only tangential to the lip.

The painted decoration is the distinctive Eastern Greek kind whose rich, tapestry-like friezes and pattern represent for many students the epitome of Greek orientalizing art; it has been dubbed after the most prominent of its animal figures the Wild Goat style. The particular decorative program of our vase is that of the distinctive sub-style which Kardara has called Classical Camiran:¹³ simple guilloche on the neck,¹⁴ tongues at

the top of the shoulder, continuous loop divider bands on the body, lotus flower and bud chain - one of the most conspicuously Near Eastern of Greek orientalizing motifs¹⁵ - on the lower body. The only aberration in the general scheme is the absence of decoration on rotelle faces and handle.

In the figural friezes the usual kinds of creatures natural and fabulous promenade in a kaleidoscopic wonderland. As always, the shoulder frieze is the more (sometimes most) elaborate and the only one axially organized, presumably because interruption by the handle at the back imposes a particular focus. Here as frequently, the substitution of a non-frontal, unsymmetrical creature, in this case a goose, for the more traditional stylized floral motif in the center modifies the formality of the arrangement.¹⁶ Flanking the central goose are a grazing deer, facing, and a griffin *sejant*, turned away. Beyond and facing the deer is a lion *passant*; beyond and facing the griffin a bull *passant* with head lowered.

The single¹⁷ continuous frieze on the body displays the canonical file of creatures of the same kind, in this case the goat which has given the style its name (figs. 4-7, 14) not the commonplace domesticated species of Greeks' everyday experience -

ταῖ μὲν ἐμαὶ κύτιον τε καὶ αἴγλον αἶγες ἔδοντι
καὶ σχῖνον πατέοντι καὶ ἐν κομάροισι κέονται

11) P. Jacobsthal, "Rhodische Bronzekannen aus Hallstattgräbern", *JDI* 44 (1929) 208; E. Buschor in A. Furtwängler, K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei: Auswahl Hervorragender Vasenbilder* III (Munich 1910) 266.

12) Jacobsthal (supra, n. 11) 209 figs. 10-13.

13) Kardara (supra, n. 9).

14) The guilloche on the neck may also be double, as on an oinochoe from Kameiros, G. Jacopi, "Esplorazione Archeologica di Camiro - II," *Clara Rhodos* 6-7 (1932-1933) 219, pls. VI, VII; or triple, as on the Levi oinochoe in the Louvre, E. Pottier, *CVA France 1, Louvre 1* (Paris 1922) pls. 6, 7.

15. A. H. Layard, *A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh* (London 1853) pl. 56; W. Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics from Ashur and Earlier Ancient Assyrian Wall-Paintings* (London 1925) pls. 11-14, 19. The occurrence of this "flower-bud" chain motif in the decoration of the alabaster threshold from Nineveh and of floor painting in a tomb of the late sixth century B.C. near Elmali in Lycia (information kindly furnished by M.J. Mellink), both of which evidently simulate floor carpets, provides explicit evidence for the importance of textiles in the transmission of motifs from the Near East to the Greek world.

16. Shoulder friezes with this more informal arrangement evidently belong to no particular school or group; cf. the arrangement on oinochoae assigned by Kardara (supra, n. 9) to the following variants of the Classical Camiran style: Painter of the Birds of Prey, p. 95 nos. 1, 5; Group of the Budapest Oinochoe, p. 96 no. 3; Workshop of the Stags, pp. 100, 101 nos. 3, 15; Workshop of the Butting Goats, p. 102, no. 2; Workshop of the Ducks, p. 107 no. 5; and to the Transitional Style, p. 181 no. 1.

17) Wild Goat oinochoae might have two friezes below the shoulder, e.g. Jacopi (supra, n. 14) 219, pls. VI, VII; three friezes, e.g. L. Laurenzi, "Necropoli Ialiese (Scavi dell'Anno 1934)", *Clara Rhodos* 8 (1936) 31, fig. 11 on p. 30; or five friezes as on the Levi oinochoe, Pottier (supra, n. 14).



Fig. 13 Wild Goat-Style oinochoe J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AE.127.



Fig. 14 Wild Goat-Style oinochoe J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AE.127.

- but the glamorous untamed *Capra aegagrus*, whose brilliant acrobatics and noble length of horn¹⁸ have enthralled artists since earliest times (figs. 15-16).¹⁹

If the decoration's grammar and vocabulary are conventional, however, orthography is not: the iconography of creatures and ornament includes numerous unorthodoxies, of which the following are particularly striking.

(1) Certain filling ornament motifs, viz. the full and half rosettes with circle-on-stick petals and the dot

18) The horns of the wild goat shot by Pandaros in the *Iliad* (4. 105-113) were sixteen palms long (109: τοῦ κέρα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἑκαίδεκάδωρα πεφύκει); cf. R. Lydekker, *Royal Natural History II* (London 1894) 239 (goat horns "upward of 52½ inches" in length).

Pandaros used the horns to make a bow; for this use, A. J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos IV* (London 1935) 832-836; J. Chadwick, *The Mycenaean World* (Cambridge 1976) 130-131. The arts of Crete show wild goats used as sacrificial animals, cf. the attractive bronze plaques from Kato Syme Viannou, reported by H. W. Catling, "Archaeology in Greece 1974-75", *Archaeological Reports for 1974-75* (London 1975) 27-28 and references; more fancifully as draught animals yoked to chariots, J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical* (London 1970) 102, pl. 110.

19) Fig. 15, reproduced by kind permission of Leonard von Matt from S. Alexiou, N. Platon, H. Guanella, *Ancient Crete* (New York

1967) pl. 193, illustrates one of many splendid representations in Minoan art: on a stone rhyton from the palace at Zakro; for the beautiful device of wild goats mating on a gold signet, R. Higgins, *Minoan and Mycenaean Art* ("Praeger World of Art"; New York 1967) 52 ill. 50. According to a popular tradition canonized by Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* 9. 6 (612 a 3) and repeated by many later writers of Classical Antiquity (including Theophrastus, Virgil, Pliny, Dioscurides, Aelian, Plutarch), the wild goats of Crete used dittany (*Origanum dictamnus*) to cure themselves of arrow wounds; the sources are collected in E. K. Platakis, *Ο ΔΙΚΤΑΜΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΡΗΤΗΣ* (Herakleion 1975).

Fig. 16, reproduced by kind permission of Col. W. R. Prescott, illustrates a drawing in the possession of the same by Edward Lear, dated July 5, 1864 and labelled "The Landscape Painter Perceives the Moufflons on the tops of the Mountains of Crete" (reproduced in V. Noakes, *Edward Lear: the Life of a Wanderer* (Boston 1969) 202).

Highly stylized wild goats (or ibexes?) are a striking motif on the famous goblet of the fourth millenium B.C. from Susa, R. de Mecquenem, "Catalogue de la céramique peinte susienne conservée au Musée du Louvre", *Délégation en Perse. Mémoires* 13 (1912) 105-106, pls. 1 no. 4, 4 nos. 1, 2; for ancient remains of *Capra aegagrus* in Iran, J. Boessneck, "Tiernochenfunde vom Zendan-i Suleiman (7. Jahrhundert v. Christus)", *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 6 (1973) 108.

For general discussions of *Capra aegagrus* in ancient art and its distribution in Crete and Asia Minor, K. F. Kinch, *Vroulia* (Berlin 1914) 265-272; Evans (supra, n. 18) 832-841; H. Kumerloewe, "Zur Verbreitung kleinasiatischer Raub- und Huftiere sowie einiger Grossnager", *Säugetierkundliche Mitteilungen* 15 (1967) 394-398, fig. 30 on p. 396.



Fig. 15 Minoan stone vase from Kato Zakro (photo Leonard von Matt)

rosette with double ring of dots (the last in the goat frieze near the back of the vase; figs. 5-7) never to the writer's knowledge appear in the Classical Camiran repertoire.

(2) Griffin and lion lack proper ears; although the upper ends of their collars, which uncharacteristically extend beyond the top contour of their heads, could be construed as such (figs. 1,10).

(3) The L-shaped reserve spaces in the further hind legs of the goats are shaped to represent genitals (pl. I). The proper function of these spaces is to differentiate leg and underbelly. True genitals (penises) are rendered in outline further forward and pendent below the belly.

(4) The tongues at the top of the shoulder all have central dividers (figs. 4-7). Normally at least one pair and sometimes more on either side of the front axis lack dividers, in subtle response to the axial conception of shoulder decoration.

(5) The lower hind legs of griffin and lion are rendered in silhouette (figs. 1,10) rather than outline and reserve.

20) A strange Wild Goat style vase from Iasos in Caria, however, shows a dog with similarly contoured jaw, D. Levi, "Iasos. Le Campagne de Scavo 1969-70", *ASAtene* 31-32 (1969-70) 506-507, fig. 58.

There are other aberrant features. The exaggerated reserve contour of the goose's jaw and its stunted talons (fig. 9) must be exceptional if not unique.²⁰ The bases of the goats' ears are broad, and give no hint of the delicate attenuation so often favored. The deer's pelt evidently lacks dapples, in reserve or white-painted (figs. 6,8).²¹ The griffin's wing has no pin-feather zone, and consists entirely of quill feathers (fig. 10). A technical peculiarity is the apparent absence of red paint, normally used to colour figures and motifs in the friezes.

The Wild Goat style can accommodate a fair amount of eccentricity (with respect to the norm of 'Rhodian' material), as demonstrated by pottery of Aeolic, "Ephesian", and other fundamentally Eastern Greek styles, and by individual pieces like the Vlastos oinochoe in Athens and the richly polychrome oinochoe from Siana on Rhodes, now in Vienna;²² and there is strange provincial and derivative Wild Goat style pottery from the periphery of the Greek world in western Asia Minor and Italy whose peculiarities are only just becoming

known.²³ None of this material, however, helps to explain the idiosyncracies of our oinochoe, which are as alien to other fundamentally Eastern Greek styles as they are to the Classical Camiran and which are not the striking ones of provincial and derivative Wild Goat styles.

To the writer at least the first four idiosyncracies listed above seem inconsistent with fundamental attitudes and conventions of ancient Wild Goat style painting,²⁴ and suggest that our oinochoe is not a product of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Like the apparent peculiarities of technique (especially the absence of brown tones in the glaze) and form (especially the spacing of the rotelles), a certain stylistic impotence, conspicuous in the weakly-rendered heads of lion and griffin and hindquarters of the lion, reinforces but is not crucial to this conclusion. If the vase is a genuine antiquity, however, its authenticity sooner or later should become vindicated through the recovery of similar Wild Goat style pottery in certifiable contexts.

C.H. Greenewalt, Jr.
Berkeley

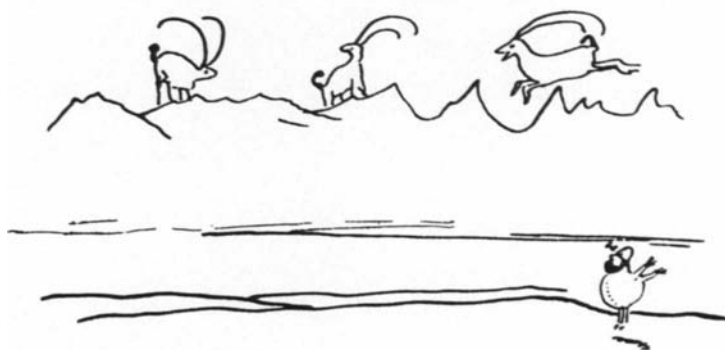


Fig. 16 Drawing by Edward Lear 1864.

21) For techniques of dappling on deer pelts, C. H. Greenewalt, Jr., "Orientalizing Pottery from Sardis: the Wild Goat Style", *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 3 (1970) 63 n. 15.

22) For this material, E. Walter-Karydi, "Äolische Kunst", *Studien zur Griechischen Vasenmalerei* ("Antike Kunst Beiheft", 7, Bonn 1970) 3-18; C. H. Greenewalt, Jr., "Ephesian Ware", *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 6 (1973) 91-122; idem, "Fikellura and 'Early Fikellura' Pottery from Sardis", *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 4 (1971) 153-180; Walter (supra, n. 8) nos. 612, 613 (pottery from Old Smyrna), 622 (the Vlastos oinochoe), 630 (oinochoe from Siana in Vienna).

23) For provincial and derivative Wild Goat style pottery from western Asia Minor, Greenewalt (supra, n. 21) 55-89; idem, "Two Lydian Graves at Sardis", *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 5 (1972) 118-120, 129-130; idem, "Lydian Vases from Western Asia Minor", *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 1 (1968) 151-154; Levi (supra, n. 20); K. T. Erim in M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor", *AJA* 73 (1969) 223; cf. P. P. Betancourt, "The Age of Homer," *Expedition* 12 (1969) 14 no. 88; A. Terracotta Oinochoe", *City Art Museum Bulletin* 1 (1965) 3, 6 (oinochoe in St. Louis,

Missouri). There is also material in the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul and Izmir, which A. Pasinli and E. Cakir kindly have shown me.

For 'Rhodo-Etruscan' (or 'Etrusco-Rhodian') Wild Goat style painting, by the Rondini Painter, A. Giuliano, "Un Pittore a Vulci nella II Meta del VII sec. A. C.", *JdI* 78 (1963) 183-199; idem, "Un Pittore a Vulci nella II Meta del VII sec. A. C. (Addenda)", *AA* (1967) 7-11; A. D. Trendall, *Greek Vases in the Logie Collection* (Christchurch 1971) 50-51, pl. III no. 9; N. Kunisch, *Antiken der Sammlung Julius C. und Margo Funcke* (Bochum 1972) 50-51 no. 54. D. A. Amyx kindly reminded me of this material and supplied all references.

24. Rosettes with circle-on-stick petals occur on kinds of Wild Goat style pottery which not only are distinctively different in style from Classical Camiran but are considered by many scholars to be later in date; cf. Walter-Karydi (supra, n. 8) nos. 979 (dish from Syracuse), 1009 (bowl from Naucratis), 1068, 1073 (plates from Rhodes), 1117 (plate from Tocra); Arias, Hirmer (supra, n. 7) 280, pl. 27 (the Euphorbos plate).

HANDLES OF GREEK VASES

Scant attention has been paid to the methods used in forming handles of Greek vases and little has been published. It has been generally accepted that most of the handles of these vases were made by the rolling method. The most recent discussion of the manufacture of Attic vases is by J. Noble.¹ He states, when discussing the handles on amphorae, "Ancient Attic potters . . . rolled lumps of clay between their hands or on a flat surface until they formed long ropes or 'snakes' of clay. The 'snakes' were modified at the potters' discretion."

This present study was inspired by a chance handling of an Attic vase handle at the J. Paul Getty Museum. Being a potter, I was struck by the similarity of the handle to a pulled type of handle used in modern pottery studios. Since examining ancient Greek vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum, my opinion is that most handles were probably made by the pulling method rather than, as previously held, by the rolling method.

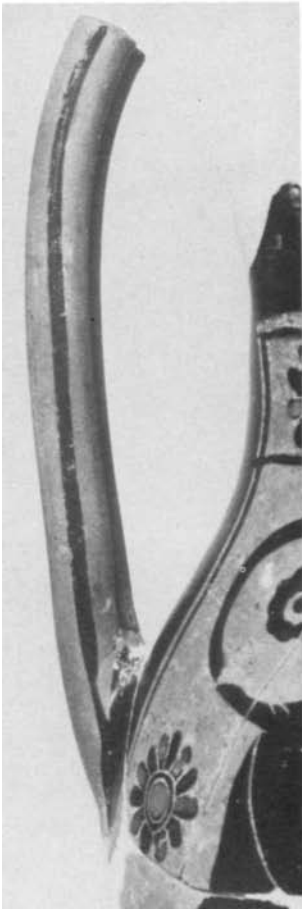
Clay is soft and pliable when it is wet. As it is exposed to the air, it hardens, becoming less pliable as it reaches the leather-hard or firm stage, when it can no longer be shaped by hand. Only minute modifications can then be made by the use of tools.

There are four common methods of making handles: rolling, pulling, wire cutting and moulding. From the evidence of the vases examined, only the first two techniques were used in Greek pottery and these procedures have not changed appreciably from ancient times.

In the *rolled handle*, a lump of wet clay is rolled between the hands or on a smooth, flat surface to form a long rope of clay. This rope or "snake" of clay is then bent to the desired shape and left until it has reached a degree of firmness which allows the potter to fit it to the pot. The formed handle is attached to the pot with clay "slip", a supersaturated clay so wet it can be poured. Attaching the handle to the pot before it reaches the leather-hard stage and while it still has some pliability has the advantage of allowing the potter to make minor adjustments in the shape of the handle. In this way it better relates to the form of the pot. Or the potter may

I thank Faya and Jiff Frel for kind help in preparation of this article.

1. Noble, J.V., *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery*, N.Y., 1965, p. 14.



1A,B: Olpe by the Gorgon painter, about 590 B.C. (76-AE-55). This rolled, double handle has minute irregularities along its length.

1C: A cross-sectional view of the same handle as 1A,B.

choose to wait and attach the handle at the leather-hard stage. Rolled handles, even though created with great care, have minute irregularities in width due to irregularities in the shape of the potter's hands and fingers. It requires the gentlest touch of the fingertips in the final forming stage, or sanding and sponging the handle during the leather-hard stage, to eliminate most of these irregularities.

In an early sixth century B.C. olpe by the Gorgon Painter (76-AE-55)² (Fig. 1a,b) an easy view of the inner side as well as a clear cross-sectional view is afforded as the top portion of the long, narrow, rolled double handle is missing. The handle was left reserved (unpainted) except for four decorative stripes, and evinces no sign of pull-lines, whereas minute irregularities are visible along the length of the handle as the olpe is rotated. (Fig. 1c)

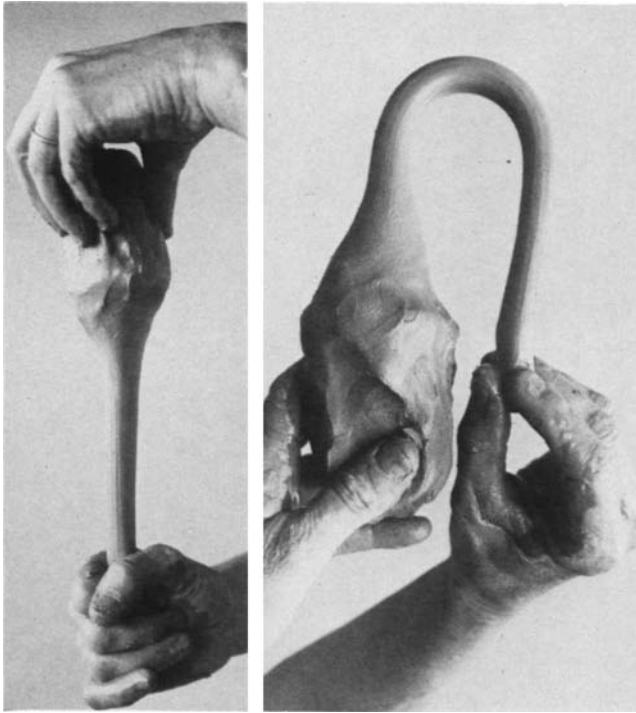
To make a *pulled handle*, a cone-shaped lump of wet clay is held in one hand with the neck end of the lump facing downward. With the moistened free hand, a repeated gentle squeezing and pulling motion causes the

clay to assume an elongated form. (Fig. 2a) Longitudinal lines develop as a result, much like the lines left in the clay when a potter throws a piece on the wheel. These lines add a flowing quality to the pulled handle not found in those which are rolled. Pulled handles tend to be thicker and wider at the origin of the pull, thinner and narrower at the termination. Micrometer readings taken on the ancient vases reveal this configuration. (See chart 1a) A graceful, flowing curve is evident in vertically oriented pulled handles. When the potter turns the hand holding the clay, the handle will bend of its own weight into a loop. (Fig. 2b) This natural loop lends a quality beautifully in harmony with the finished vase. "The result is more pleasing than anything accomplished by rolling."³

Ancient Greek vases evince eleven different types of handles as follows:

2. Anonymous donation. *Greek Vases in the J.P.G. Museum*, January-April 1977, #12.

3. Kenny, John, *The Complete Book of Pottery*, N.Y. 1949, p. 51.



2A: Pulling a cylindrical handle.

2B: When the handle is fully pulled, the potter turns his hand to allow a loop to form in the clay.

3A: Attic column krater, 510-500 B.C. (75-AE-80) with pulled cylindrical handles.



The *cylindrical* and *double* pulled handles are made by curling the index finger around to the base of the thumb, making an "O" shape. As the handle is pulled, the thumb and finger remain in a relatively relaxed position. A nearly round handle results if the potter slightly rotates the pulling hand around the handle to a new position before commencing each stroke. Otherwise, a somewhat triangular shape results. The Attic column krater (75-AE-80)⁴ (Fig. 3a, 3a1) 510-500 B.C. has a good example of a cylindrical handle, and a fragment (no inv. no.) (Fig. 3b,c,d) in cross section shows the more triangular shape resulting when the hand is not rotated.

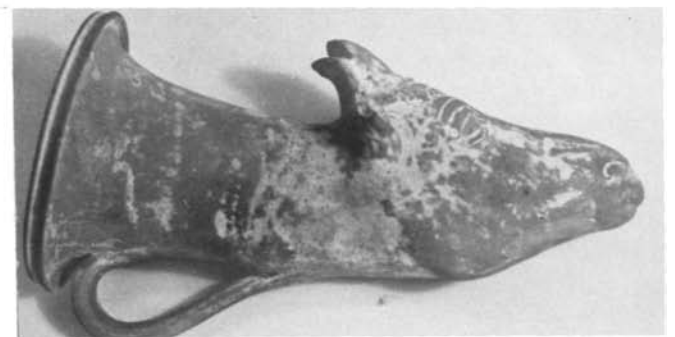
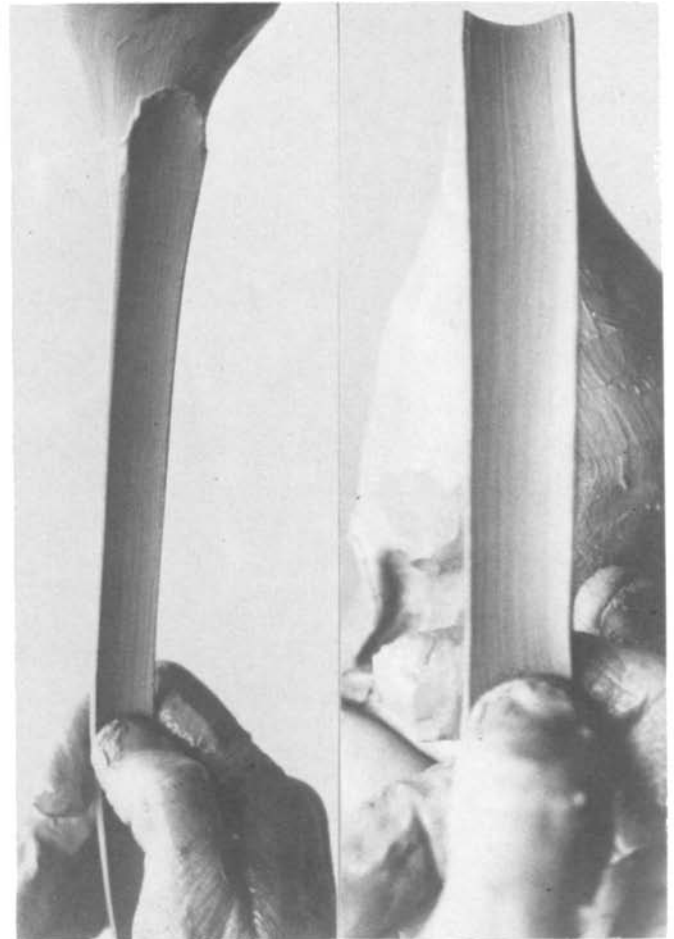
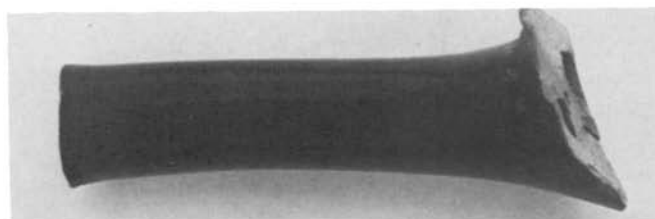
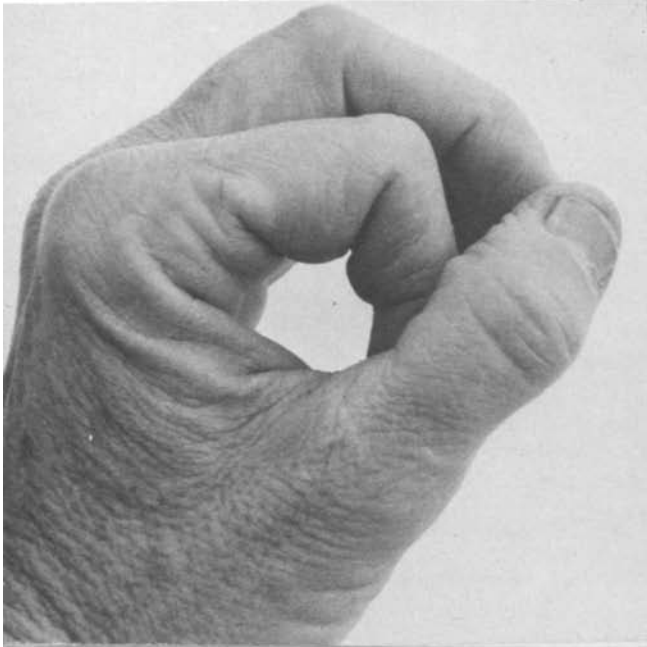
Double handles are made by fitting two cylindrical handles together, cementing them with clay slip. Possibly the triple, quadruple and twisted handles are variations of the same method.

Handles that are *segmental in section* are made by positioning the thumb and index finger in the same manner as for cylindrical handles but by tightening the index finger, thus flattening the portion of the handle in contact with the tissue pad at the base of the index finger.

In making a *concave* handle the potter commences to form a cylindrical handle. When the desired size is reached, the index finger is crooked into a half circle



4. Anonymous donation. *Recent Acquisitions of Antiquities, the J.P.G. Museum June-September 1976*, #83, *Greek Vases* #24.



3B: Position of hand for pulling a cylindrical handle.

3C: A triangular shape in the handle results when the potter does not rotate the pulling hand, as in this Attic column krater fragment, end on view.

3D: Attic column krater fragment shown in 3C.

4A: Pulling a concave handle. The thumb tip forces a concavity into the round handle.

4B: Concave handle bent to form a loop.

4C: Apulian goat-head rhyton about 300 B.C. (71-AE-380) with a concave handle. Note the pull-lines.

4D: Side view of rhyton shown in 4C.



5A: Polychrome lekythos, third century B.C. (76-AE-95) showing shallow concavity in its handle.



6: Two Apulian rhyta, (71-AE-195, 71-AE-196) the handles pulled by a left and a right hand, respectively. Note high left side of the bull-head handle, on the left, and high right side of the ram-head handle, on the right, with corresponding off-centered concavities.

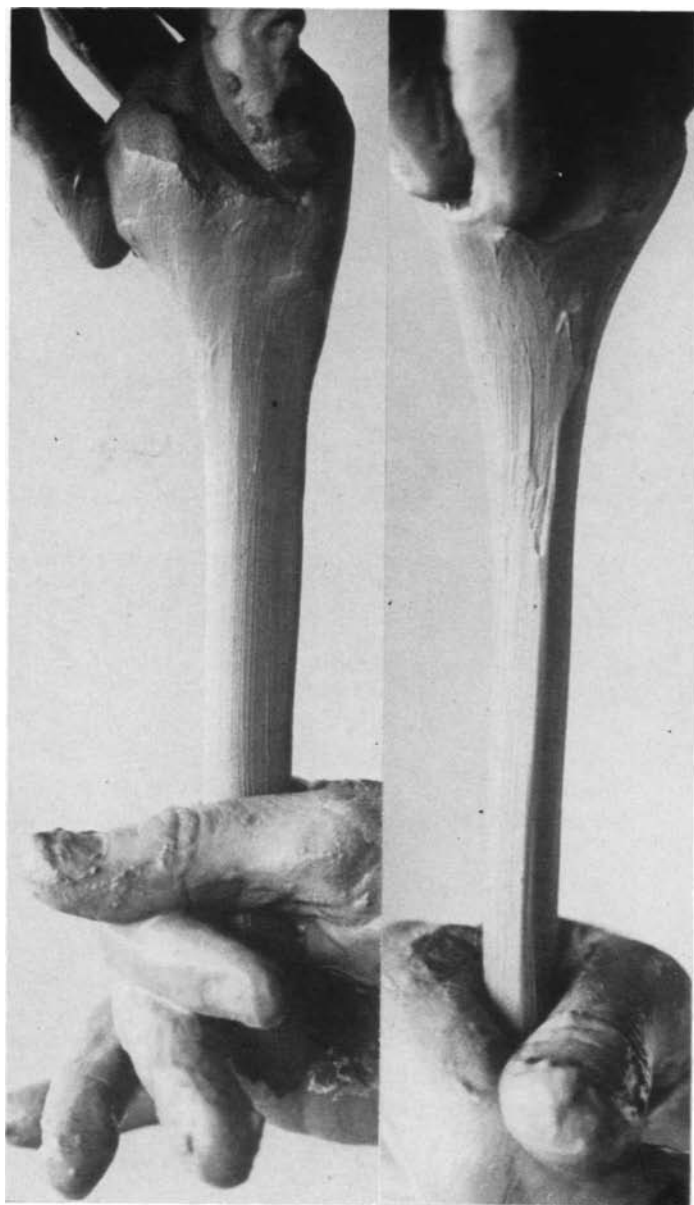
with the tip of the thumb placed opposite the crook of the index finger. By gently forcing an indentation into the round handle with the tip of the thumb at each successive pull, a concave handle is formed. (Fig. 4a) Such a handle is seen adjacent to a fourth century B.C. ewe goat-head rhyton (71-AE-266)⁵ in Figure 4b,c,d. Other examples of the concave handle include a third century B.C. polychrome lekythos (76-AE-95)⁶ Sicily, with a shallow indentation caused by the thumb turned somewhat sidewise. (Fig. 5) The handles of two Apulian rhyta (Ram 71-AE-195; Bull 71-AE-196)⁷ (Fig. 6), are pulled one by a left and the other by a right hand, shown by the off-center appearance of the concave portion of the handle to the right or left correspondingly. This off-centered aspect is not an uncommon character in concave handles due to the physical impossibility of turning the thumb so it is *directly* opposite the middle segment of the crooked forefinger.

In making *ribbon* handles, the index finger is bent at a ninety degree angle at the second joint. The thumb is placed on top of the most distal joint of the index finger, or between these two joints, with both thumb and forefinger tensed. (Fig. 7a,b,c) In cross section, ribbon handles may vary in thickness, some higher on one side and some higher in the middle, depending on the position of the thumb when the clay is pulled. An example of this variation is the lekythos signed by the

5. cf. S. Holo, *Getty M J* 1 (1974) 89, 91, figg. 16-17.

6. Presented by Gordon McLendon.

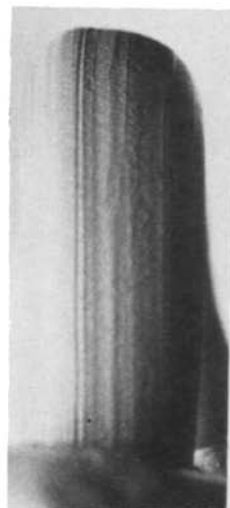
7. Holo 85 ff., 86. figg. 1-3, 87. figg. 6-8, 90 figg. 11-12.



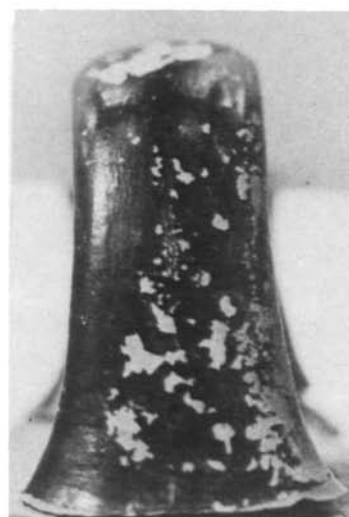
7A: Pulling a ribbon handle, broad view.

7B: Same handle as Figure 6A, turned 90 degrees showing near side thinner than far side.

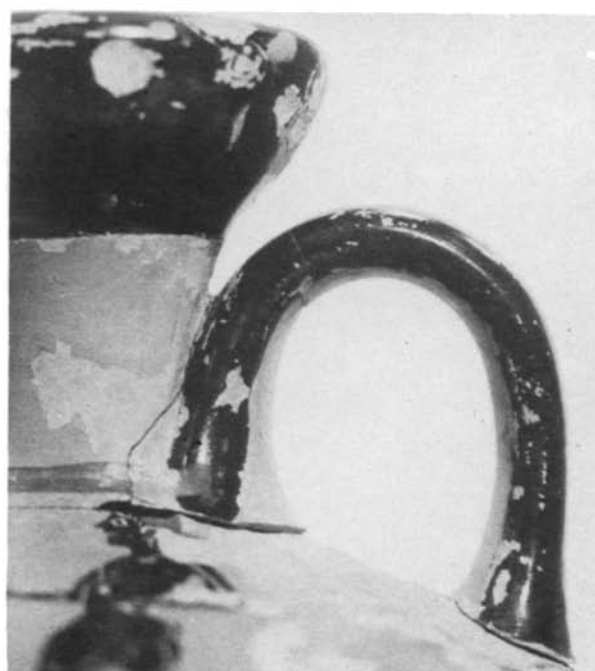
7C: Same handle as Figure 6A,B, looped to form a handle showing irregularity of thickness - thicker on left side than right.



8



C



8A: Lekythos signed by Amasis, about 550 B.C. (76-AE-48) - a thick, wide origin of pull on the neck of the vase, and thinner, narrower insertion on the body of the vase.

8B: Same handle as 8A, broad view, showing typical irregularity of thickness in ribbon handles - higher on right side than left.

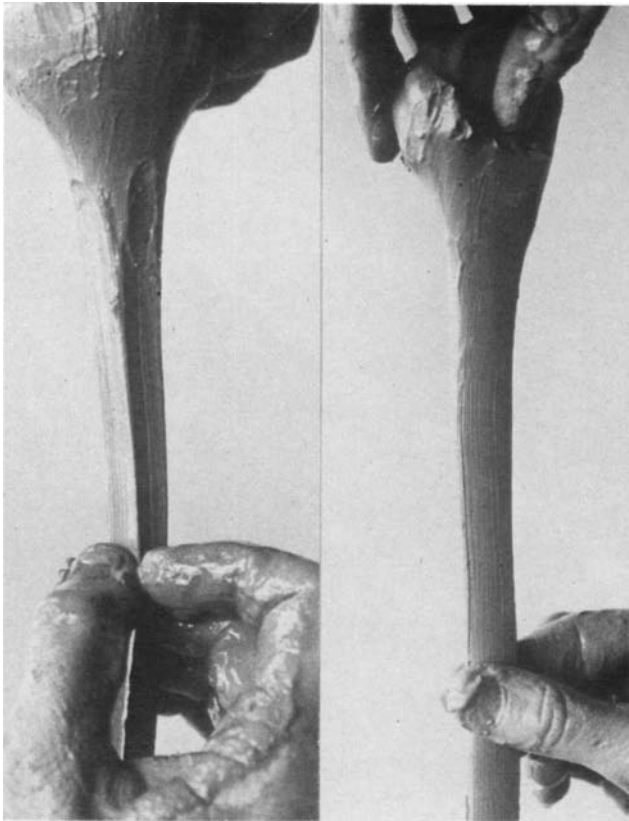
Amasis Painter (76-AE-48) (Figs. 8a,b)⁸. The vase shows decided signs of wear and therefore no pull-lines are obvious on the unglazed portion of the handle. In cross section it is higher on the right side and it decreases in width from origin of pull on the neck to insertion on the body (see Chart No. 1).

The *flat strap* handle is the result of a continuation of the flattening process of the ribbon handle, with the pads of the thumb and forefinger used for pulling the

last few strokes. (Fig. 9) Like the above Lekythos, a Capanian duck askos (71-AE-403) with flat strap handle also shows the origin of the pull on the neck of the vase and the insertion onto the body.

The *center-ridged* handle is the most difficult to pull. A ribbon handle is started and when an oval cross sectional shape is reached the middle finger is slipped

8. Presented by Mr. and Mrs. Bruce McNall.



9: Pulling a flat-strap handle using thumb and tip of forefinger to flatten the clay.

10: Thumb tip and tip of forefinger are opposing the middle finger to produce a center-ridge handle.

behind the handle while the opposing thumb tip and tip of the forefinger are placed opposite the middle finger. The thumb and forefinger create the central ridge as the handle is pulled. (Fig. 10) The sharp, harsh ridge line produced is softened by running a finger over the ridge. A deeper groove will result on one side of the central ridge if care is not exercised in keeping the finger tips opposed. Both of the handles on a fourth century B.C. lebes gamikos (71-AE-396) (Fig. 11) display this asymmetric grooving while an Attic pelike (75-AE-81)⁹ (Fig. 12) shows symmetrical grooving.

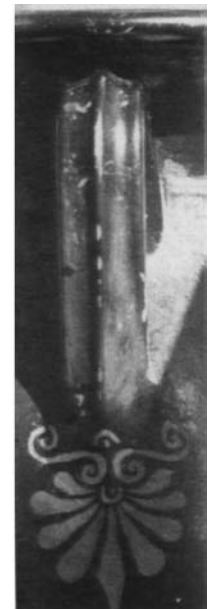
To make *horizontally positioned* pulled handles, the potter relaxes the squeezing motion each time he nears the end of the pull, leaving a thickened lump of clay at

the base, corresponding to the thickness of the origin of the handle, with a thinner area remaining in the center. (Fig. 13,a,b) The undulating curves of some horizontal handles are made by allowing gravity to pull the middle portion off-center. (Fig. 13c) These curves, along with the pull-lines, create a graceful, continuous flow not found on rolled, molded, or wire-cut handles.

Two examples illustrate this natural bend: an Attic hydria from about 500 B.C. (75-AE-83) (Fig. 14)¹⁰, and an Attic hydria fragment (no number) (Fig. 15). There is a typical overall upward bend and a slight flattening to the curve in both. No pull-lines are obvious in the intact fully glazed hydria handle, but can be seen on the reserved portion of the fragment. A third example is seen in a fourth century B.C. Campanian bell krater (71-AE-390) (Fig. 16) which has obvious pull-lines. This krater has an exaggerated upward bend to the handles. This probably occurred when the potter gave the natural bend an extra push as he positioned the handle to dry. (Fig. 17a,b,c)

Richter¹¹ recognizes the great skill and sense of beauty in the work of the Athenian potter through the construction of Attic vase handles when she says, "The handles grow out of the vase like branches from a tree which gives them a living quality."

Jacobsthal¹² writes of the "stream of power" which flows from the neck of the vase into the handle and back into the body of the vase; "The handle is of



11: Campanian lebes gamikos (4th c. B.C.) (71-AE-396) showing asymmetrical grooving of both handles in a center-ridge pulled handle.

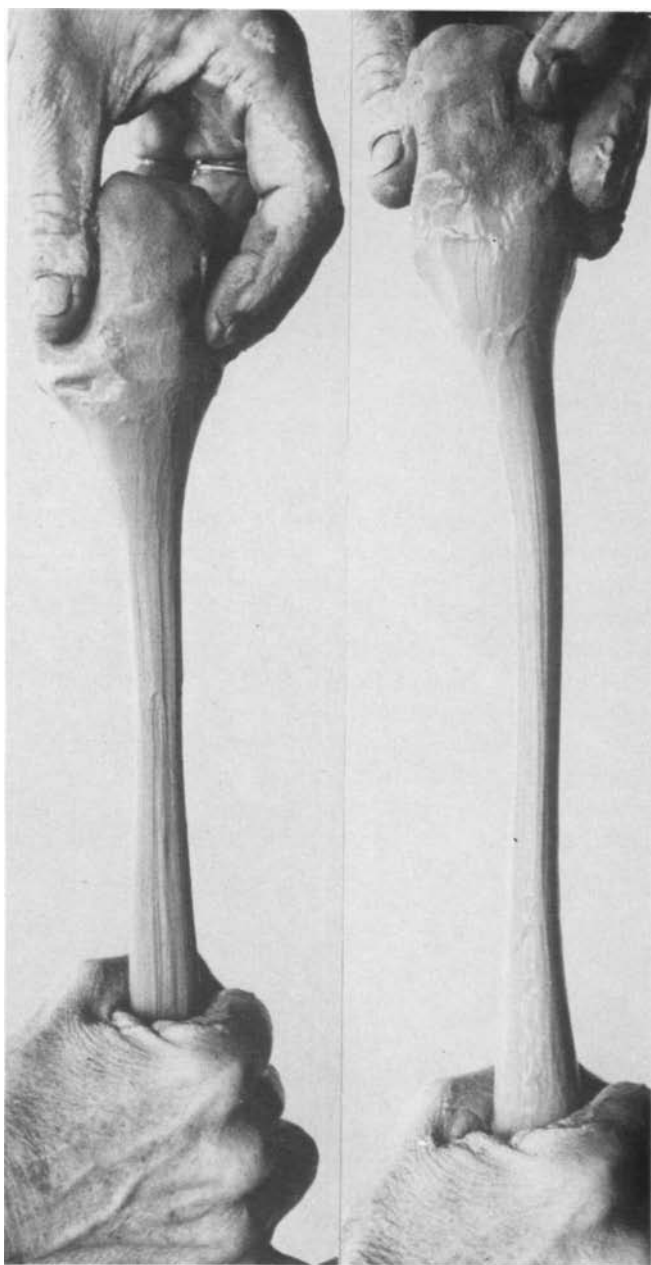
12: Attic pelike (75-AE-81) with symmetrical grooving in a center-ridged pulled handle.

9. Anonymous donation. *Recent Acquisitions* #85, *Greek Vases* #43.

10. Anonymous donation, *Recent Acquisitions* #84, *Greek Vases* #34.

11. Richter, G.M.A., *The Craft of the Athenian Pottery*, N.Y., 1923, p. 21.

12. Jacobsthal, P., *Ornamente Griechischer Vasen*, Berlin, 1927, p. 13.



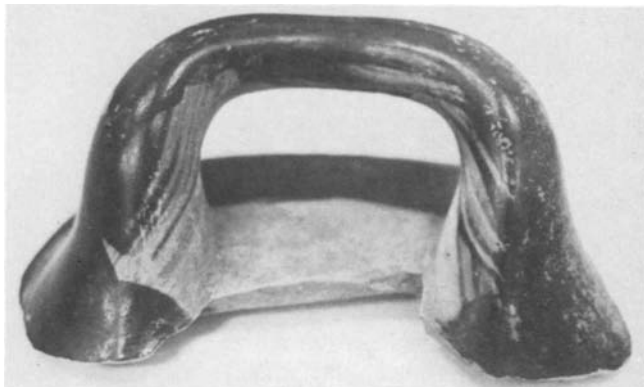
13A: Pulling a horizontally situated handle thicker on both ends and thinner in the center.

13B: Same handle as in Fig. 13A elongating the thin center section.

13C: Undulating middle section of the same handle as Fig. 13A,B where gravity has pulled it off-center.



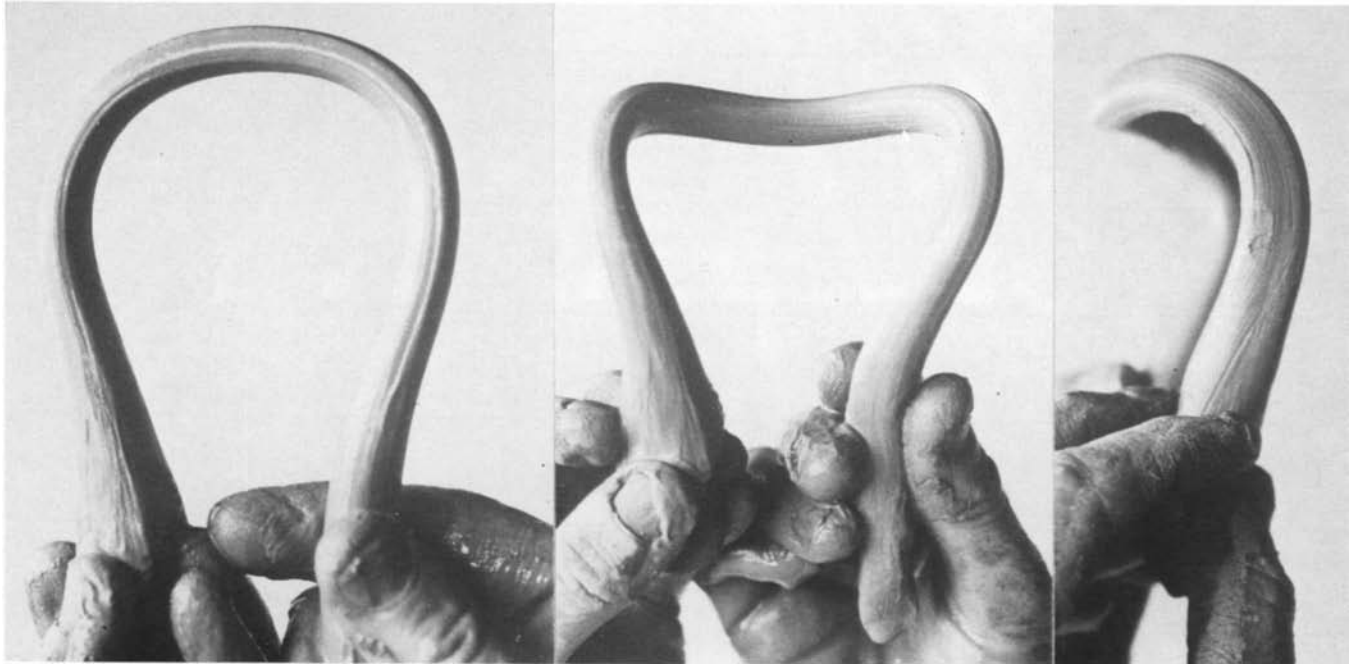
14: Attic Hydria (75-AE-83) with an off-center bend to the horizontal handle.



15: Attic hydria fragment showing the same off-center bend and flattening of the curved portion of the cylindrical handle.

16: Small Campanian bell krater (71-AE-390) with exaggerated bend to the horizontal handles.





17A: Making the loop for a horizontally situated handle with an exaggerated bend - first step.

After gravity pulls the center section off-center, the potter gives a gentle but firm snap or push to create a handle with an excessive bend. (Front view, Fig. 17B and side view, Fig. 17C.

decisive importance for the form, articulation and decoration of the vase." It is the pulled handle which best creates this stream of power. Bending the handle by hand to the desired shape lessens the beauty found in the natural bend of the pulled handle, giving it an appearance of being worked over. Rolled handles are slow and ponderous to create as compared to the ease

and spontaneity of creating pulled handles. There is a correlation between free-flowing thrown vases and the natural movement of pulled handles that brings a unity to the ancient Greek vase.

In conclusion, it is the writer's opinion that the ancient Greek potters relied upon the pulling method of construction to form handles on Ancient Greek vases.

Toby Schreiber
Malibu

CHART No. 1

TYPE OF VASE	DATE B.C.	HANDLE POSITION	TYPE OF HANDLE*	MICROMETER* * READINGS WIDTH OF HANDLE TOP TO BOTTOM OR LEFT TO RIGHT	MICROMETER READINGS DEPTH OF HANDLE TOP TO BOTTOM OR LEFT TO RIGHT
Attic olpe (76-AE-55)	About 590 B.C.	V	CL	493 485 482 499 505 485 480 507 492 498	
Attic column krater (75-AE-80)	510-500 B.C.	V	CL	627 678 595 635 633 684 607 637 644 697 614 655	680 726 664 662 658 708 652 677 642 712 633 690
Attic krater (76-AE-132,1)	Frg.	V	CL	680 728 691 753 710	711 693 688 713 581
Apulian goat rhyton (71-AE-380)	4th Century	V	CN	598— 592— 590— 572—	—268 —257 —250 —240
Sicilian lekythos (76-AE-95)	3rd Century	V	CN	634 638 640	306 270 308 275
Apulian ram rhyton (71-AE-195)	4th Century	V	CN	745— 753— 764—	—297 —305 —307
Apulian bull rhyton (71-AE-196)	4th Century	V	CN	751— 762— 755—	—353 —310 —277
Attic lekythos (76-AE-48)	About 510 B.C.	V	R	385— 380— 375—	—780 —775 —708
Campanian duck askos (71-AE-403)	4th Century	V	FS	506— 504— 498—	—189 —182 —170
Campanian lebes gamikos (71-AE-396)	4th Century	V	CR	—	—
Attic pelike (75-AE-81)	About 450 B.C.	V	CR	791 776 768 765	
Attic hydria (75-AE-83)	About 500 B.C.	H V	CL	783-780-782 849 822 855	840 831 864 806-759-790
Campanian Gell Krater (71-AE-390)	4th Century	H	CL	390-385	395-400

* CL = Cylindrical; CN = Concave; R = Ribbon; FS = Flat Strap; CR = Center Ridge;

* * micrometer readings are in 1000ths of an inch.

CHART No. 2

TYPES OF VASE

HOW MADE

	No.	P*	PI	INC.	R	RI
Head Vase	1			1		
Skyphoi	8	8		6		
Lekythoi	6	6				
Lebes gamikos	1	2				
Duck askoi	3	3				
Cups	6	4	6	1		
Olpai	3	1	1		1	
Amphorae	3			4		1
Kylikes	2			4		
Pelikai	5	4	6			
Oinochoi	3	1	1	1		
Hydriae	2	1		3		
Rhyta	3	3				
Phiale	1	2				
Calyx kraters	3		2	1		
Bell kraters	4	6		2		
Column kraters	2	1	2			
Total Pieces	57					
Total Handles	86					

TYPES OF HANDLES

	No.
Cylindrical	46
Double	3
Segmental-in-Section	8
Center Ridge	7
Ribbon	13
Flat Strap	5
Concave	5

POSITION ON VASE

	No.
Horizontal	44
Vertical	41
Uncertain	1

Century	No. Pieces
3rd	1
4th	30
5th	10
6th	9
8th	1
No information	6

AREA

HOW MADE

	No.	P	PI	INC.	R	RI
Companian	18	22	6	2		
Corinth	2			2		
Attica	24	7	7	17	2	4
Apulia	11	12	3	2		
Sicily	1	1				

CONCLUSION

	No. Handles
Pulled	42
Pulled, inconcl.	16
Inconclusive	23
Rolled	2
Rolled, inconcl.	1

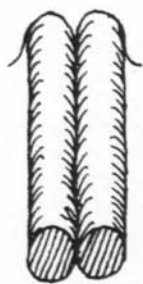
- * P = pulled
 PI = pulled, inconclusive
 INC = inconclusive
 R = rolled
 RI = rolled, inconclusive

CHART III

TYPES OF HANDLES



cylindrical



double



triple



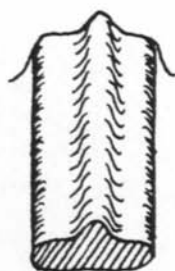
quadruple



segmental-
in-section



twisted



center-
ridged



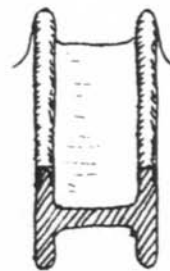
ribbon



flat-strap



concave



flanged



1 East wall

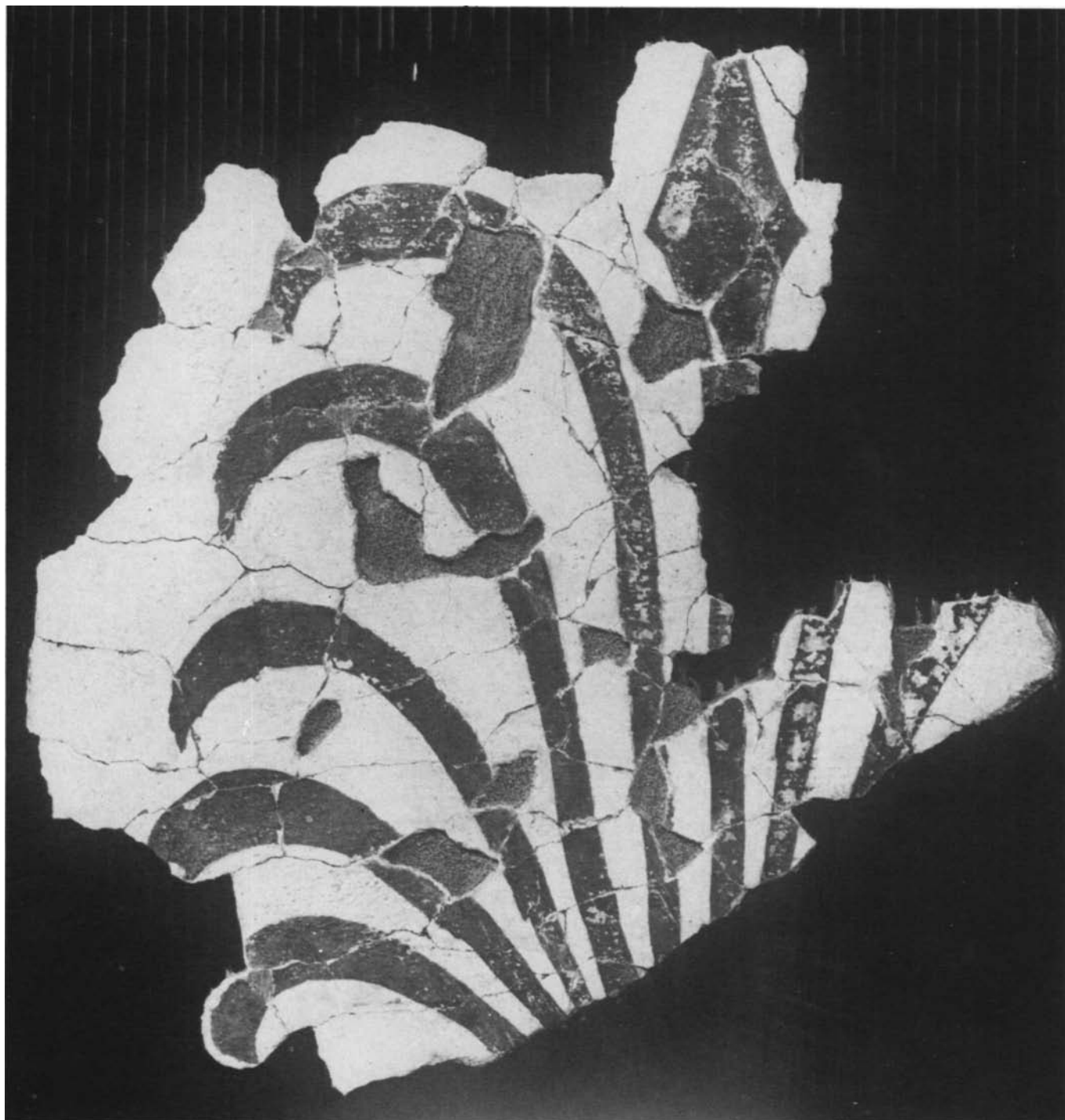
CONSERVATION OF A HELLENISTIC WALL PAINTING IN THRACE

In 1965, a tumulus was excavated in Kazanlıak, circa 6 miles east from the famous grave with wall paintings discovered in 1944. The exploration of the new tumulus started from the south where the entrance of the grave was discovered, followed by the dromos which had been entirely filled with earth after the collapse of the wooden ceiling. The walls of this first dromos preserved a few traces of a simple painted decoration suggesting that more paintings would be found inside of the funerary chamber. Immediately tests were taken for the eventual work of conservation. The temperature and the humidity were constantly monitored, in order to establish the rate of their changes which might have quickly caused the deterioration of the wall paintings. These were previously protected by the unchanging subterranean environment. After the opening of the trenches, the temperature varied between 12 and 32 C. with a *median* daily fluctuation of 19 C and maximum jump of 24 C from low to high. While the relative humidity oscillated between 32% and 86%, an average of 48% was much under the level before the excavations.

To prevent an uncontrollable penetration of the external atmosphere into the grave, two doors were built into the entrance with the obligation for persons and large objects to spend 10-12 minutes in the space

between doors before entering. Only two persons were allowed inside, (a conservator and an archaeologist) and the work was not carried on during the warmest part of the day, from 9:30-4:00 p.m.

The next step was to clear the dromos from the earth fill. Three other small dromoi from the large hallway led to the funeral room. Two of them had simple painted walls as the first dromos. The walls of the last dromos were covered by well-polished *tonaco*. The funerary chamber of a simple rectangular plan was built of trapezoidal brick, with the lateral walls reaching a height of 1.5 m in order to form a false vault afterwards. Originally each brick protruded ca. 2 cm. over the preceeding one, but the edges were cut off. Then the surface was covered by a layer of 2-3.5 cm, composed of clay, sand and lime in approximate proportion of 7-2-1. Over this two layers of *tonaco* were applied. The first was mixed from sand, marble powder and lime (2-1-1), and the second from marble powder and lime (2-1). The surface was carefully polished before proceeding with the painting layer. The painting was executed in *fresco al secco*; a handful of lime was applied on the *tonaco*, over which the pigment was applied. Carbon dioxide transformed this lime to an insoluble medium uniting the paint to the mortar. The palette was restricted to

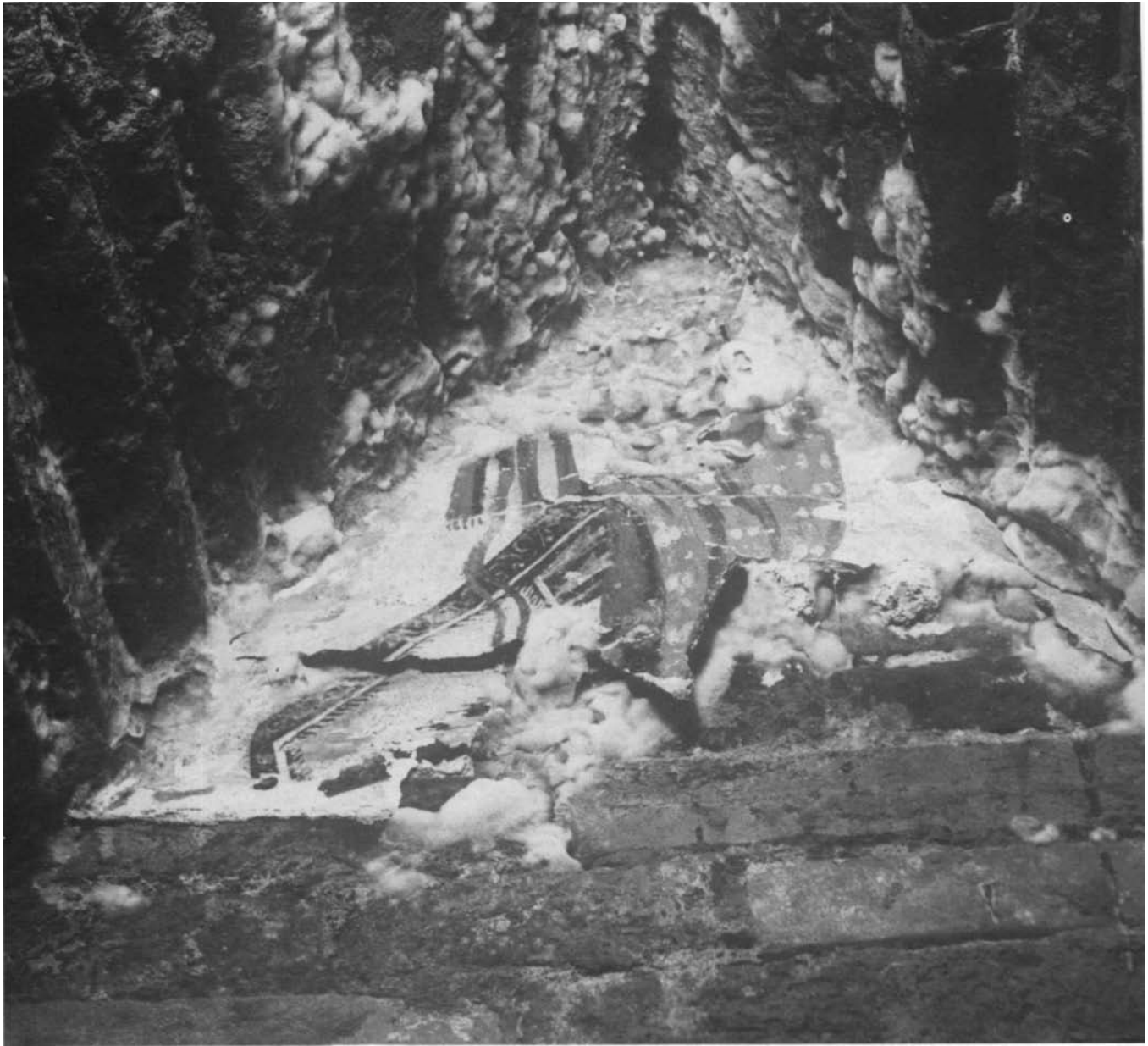


2 West wall

pompeian red (iron oxide), black (ivory black), white (calcium carbonate) and some touches of mineral azure. The background was the white layer of chalk itself. The colors were applied without being mixed.

When the burial chamber was opened the temperature was 9 C and relative humidity 96%. The latter was

maintained during the three months of work but the temperature rose to 14 C in spite of all precautions; it was successfully kept much lower than the outside temperature and the fluctuation was kept to 5 C. Special precautions were necessary to prevent the change in the balance of micro-organisms. Chemical



3 Ceiling and south pediment: the funghi bloom.

products would have been dangerous for the workers inside, thus bactericide lamps were employed. A funghi bloom at the conclusion of the conservation was successfully eliminated by the application of quaternary ammonium salts.

The funerary chamber was used twice in Antiquity. When the second entombment took place, only half of the wall paintings remained on the walls. The rest had fallen onto the floor and were probably removed. Only a few fragments remained on the walls in the moment of the excavation; most of the surviving wall decoration was now on the floor. The detachment was produced by

excessive humidity, by the roots of plants, and probably by intentional vandalism of the people entering the chamber later likely still in Antiquity. Thus, small fragments of the decoration were mixed on the floor with some dispersed bricks of the funerary *klinai*.

To facilitate the access into the chamber a bridge was constructed above the fragments, carried by a metallic support embedded in the wall opposite the entrance. The floor of this bridge was movable in sections, permitting access to the whole area under it.

After taking an exhaustive photo documentation of all the fragments on the floor and of the few remaining



4 Detail of fig. 1.

on the walls, the collection of the fragments was begun. The find spot of each of them was carefully registered on a grid plan. The fragments still in the walls were detached without being adhered to another support because of their extremely fragile surface.

Acrylid B-72, 6% and 8%, was used to consolidate the *tonaco* and the very brittle fragments were consolidated before being collected. The painted surface was impregnated by the same fixative in lower concentrations, 2-3%. All together, 3,000 fragments of different dimensions were collected, many of them without any painting. The total recovered surface corresponded to less than a half of the originally painted surface.

The final result of the recomposition was a rather well-completed frieze which had covered all the East wall of the funerary chamber. It represents a well-rhythmed sequence of palmettes and amphoras. From the West wall only one palmette was reconstructed. All the painted fragments were placed in the recomposition but some 200 undecorated fragments remained without a place.

Mounting of the painting raised several problems. The fragments were united together by 40% acrylic emulsion (primal ACC 33) and fixed onto a metal mesh, using as intermediary a *tonaco* composed of lime, sand, marble powder, inorganic fibers, and an emulsion of PVA (polyvinyl acetate). The proportion of the inert ingredients to the lime was 2.5-1. The fibers provided some elasticity while the PVA increased the level of adhesion and cohesion. To preserve the authenticity of this unique painting nothing was added to the painted surface. Some internal cavities were filled by *tonaco* under the level, reinforcing the cohesion among the fragments. The mesh presented a purely functional shape and was hardly visible once the fragments were displayed on a dark background. The unintegrated fragments were displayed separately from the recomposed frieze. The painted surface was partially covered by deposits of different natures: salts (carbonates, sulfates, nitrates), smoke, dust, and some spots of grease. The soluble salts, appeared not only on the surface but had penetrated into the *tonaco*. To avoid their dangerous crystallization they were extracted when the fragments were dried. The humidity of the *tonaco* was 19% in weight, i.e., 300 grams for each 1500 grams for the *tonaco*. The extraction was done with paper paste and kaolin under repeated control of the salts in the compresses. Thus, the humidity was reduced to 1.5%. To remove the grease, the smoke, and the dust, solvents based on tri-chlor ethylene, carbon tetrachloride, and methylethylketone were used. The salts were removed after the mounting but before the consolidation of the *tonaco* and before the removal of other deposits.

The iconography of the frieze corresponds to the funerary habits of the Thracians who buried their dead with their preferred objects, and with the necessities for life in the hereafter. The paintings substituted for real objects. In this tumulus, two Panathenaic amphoras were painted among the large palmettes. On one of these amphoras, a representation can be discerned, a *biga* with the horses leaping forward guided by a winged figure. Perhaps the amphoras were for the remembrance of some victory in chariot racing won by the dead man.

The style of the paintings and the classification of the archaeological material date the paintings to the first half of the second century B.C.

Zdravko Barov
Malibu



1. Crouching Aphrodite. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.

CHEMICAL ANALYSIS OF MARBLE SCULPTURES: CROUCHING APHRODITE AND THE WESTMACOTT JUPITER IN THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

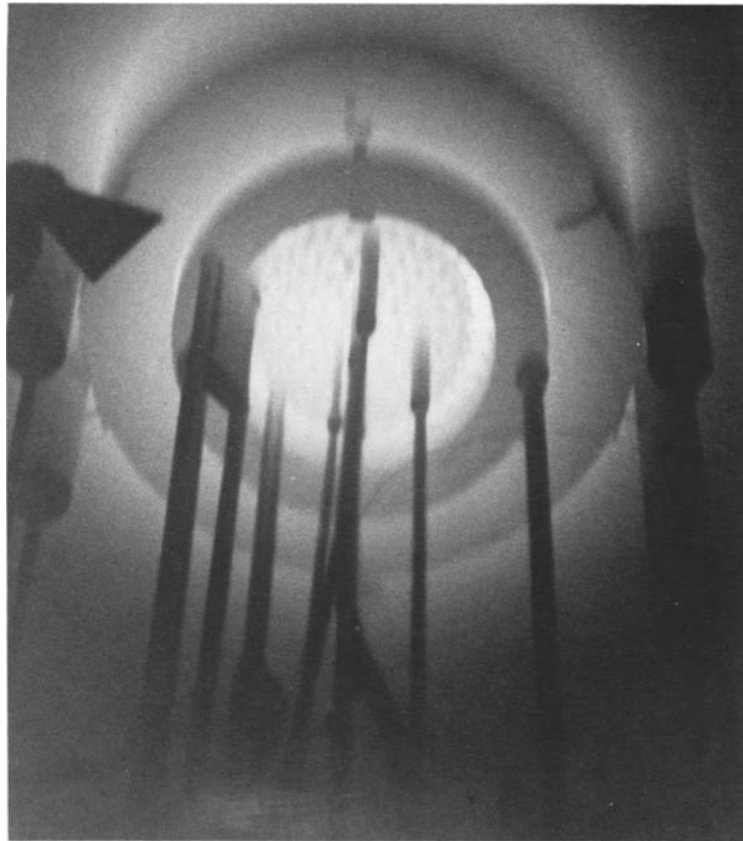
Marble, even in the pure white crystalline form most sought by sculptors, is a complex chemical material. It is formed when sub-marine deposits of diatoms are subsequently buried and subjected to elevated temperatures and pressures in the metamorphizing process.

This work, which comprises a portion of the Ph.D. thesis of L. Sangermano, would not have been possible without the energetic support of David Rinne, Conservator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum. His realization of the importance of scientific investigative methods to the further study of collection pieces enabled us to pursue our ideas. In addition, he most generously

This process produces a fine grain crystalline material having ideal characteristics for carving and polishing. As is evident from the many colors of marble, chemical impurities are often introduced at various stages in its formation, giving rise to different hues and striations. It

provided laboratory space and staff assistance. We are also grateful to the Museum Curator of Antiquities, Dr. Jiff Frel, for permission to work in the Museum areas and to publish this work.

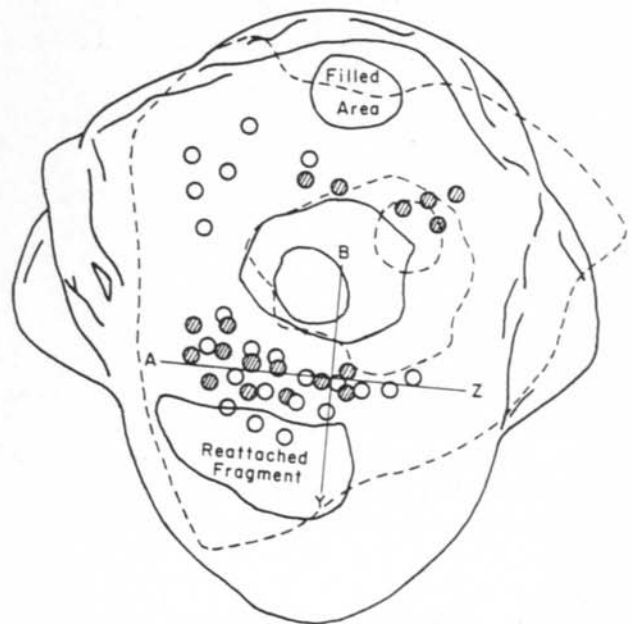
Financial support from the National Science Foundation (to Louis Sangermano) and the U.C. Irvine Reactor Facility Fund is gratefully acknowledged.



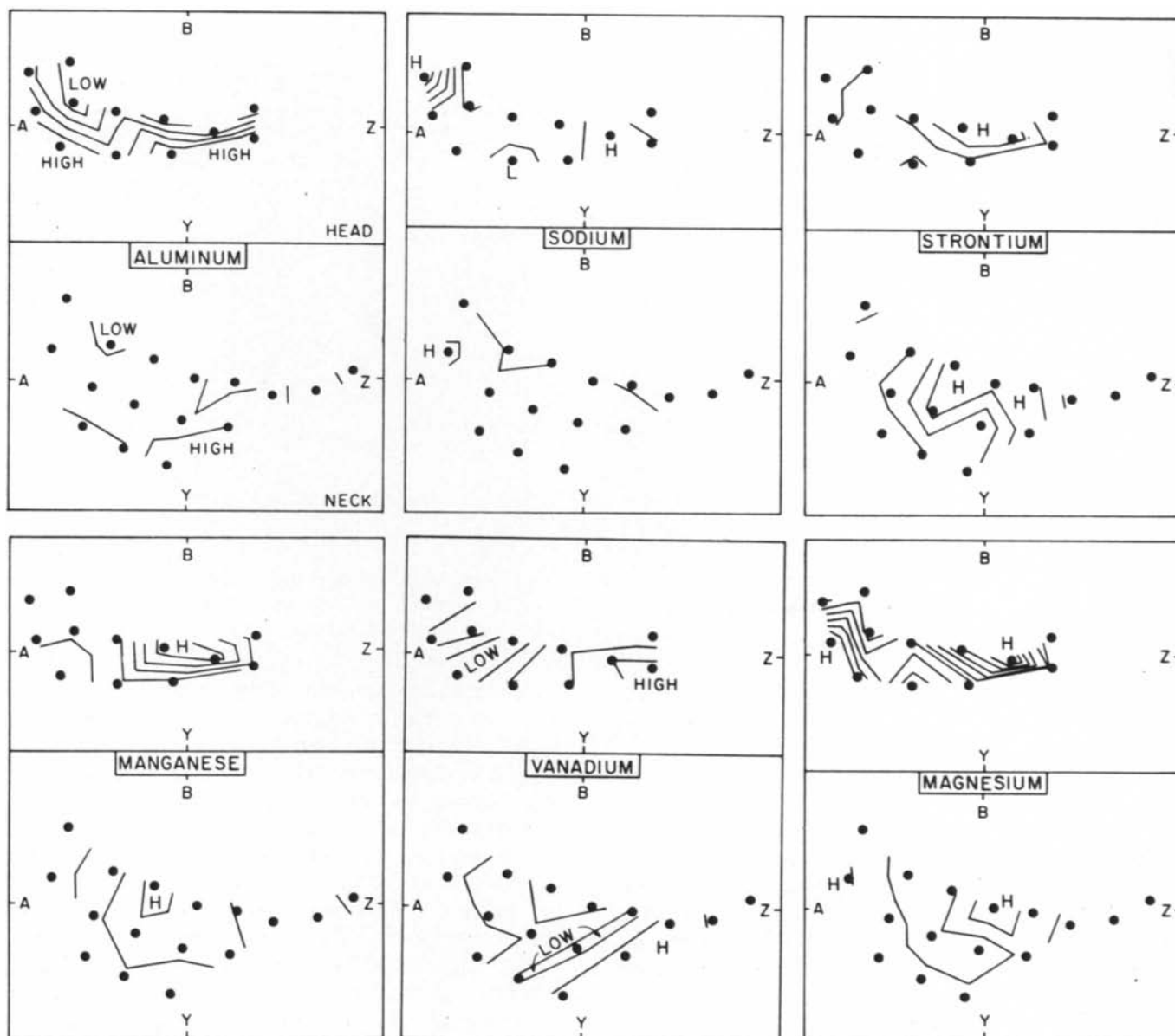
2. U.C.I. Nuclear Reactor Core.



3. Head of Aphrodite, drilled areas.



4. Aphrodite, relative sampling locations.

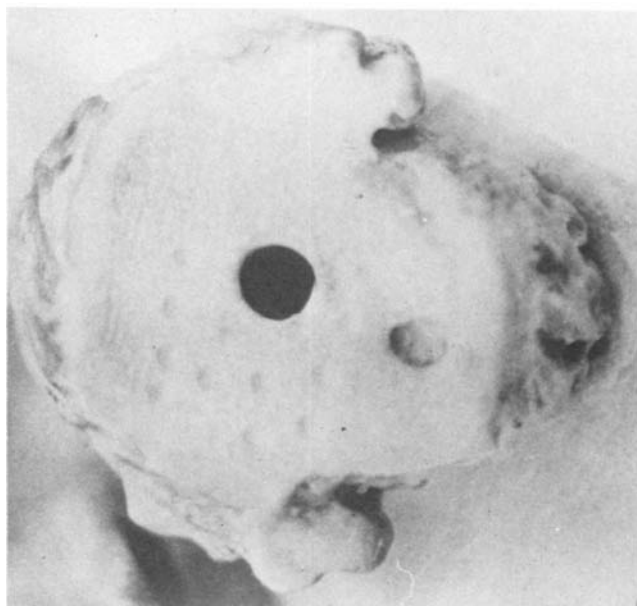


5. Aphrodite, elemental concentrations.

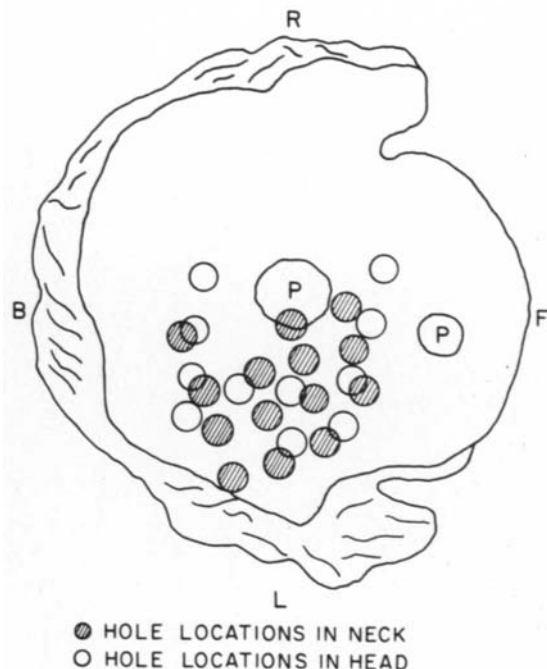
is the basis of this note¹ that such patterns and striations are in fact also present in the "pure" white forms of marble commonly used for sculpture. The impurities in this case are of colorless chemical composition, thus invisible. Discovery of such substances is only possible by means of chemical analytical procedures, and because of the small concentration involved, such methods must be highly sensitive. The impurities are not expected to be uniformly distributed throughout the material, since their introduction is postulated to have occurred via the inclusion of small fragments of rock or sedimentary material either before

or during the metamorphosis stage. This mode of deposition implies that the concentrations of elements introduced may be found to vary in a spatially linear way, as in visible striations, or in a more complex fashion of swirls or blotches, or as a rapid decrease from a central point as a piece of marble is traversed. This type of variation may explain the lack of success encountered by previous investigators who have attemp-

1. Miller, G.E., Sangermano, L. and Bunker, D. Trans Am Nucl. Soc. 21 (supp. 3), 27 (1975)



6. Head of Jupiter, drilled areas.



7. Jupiter, relative sampling locations.

ted² to identify quarry sites by means of simple chemical analyses for trace elements, without taking these morphological considerations into account.

Both of the cases considered in this note were treated by a similar method³. It consists of a removal of small amounts of material from carefully identified locations. These samples are then subjected to elemental chemical analysis by means of the instrumental neutron activation method. The analytical data obtained is then critically examined for evidence of matching patterns on fragments assumed to be adjacent. The information obtained from this method is certainly subject to probability constraints and does not necessarily provide an unequivocal answer.

The Crouching Aphrodite (Fig. 1) and the Westmaccott Jupiter both had heads without a direct join to their respective bodies. Dr. Frel suspected that the head of the Jupiter did not belong to the body but that the head of the Aphrodite was the original, carved from the same block of marble as the rest of the sculpture. With the help of D. Rinne, the surfaces of the neck regions of the separate heads and of the torsos, already freed of adhering fill material, mostly plaster and epoxy cement, were rinsed with acetone and finally cleaned by a jet of compressed gas. At a series of carefully mapped locations small depressions were drilled with a 7/32-inch tungsten carbide drill bit to a depth of approximately two millimeters. The resulting powder was discarded to insure that no surface contamination would appear in the analysis. Using a freshly cleaned drill bit, each depression was deepened about 2-3

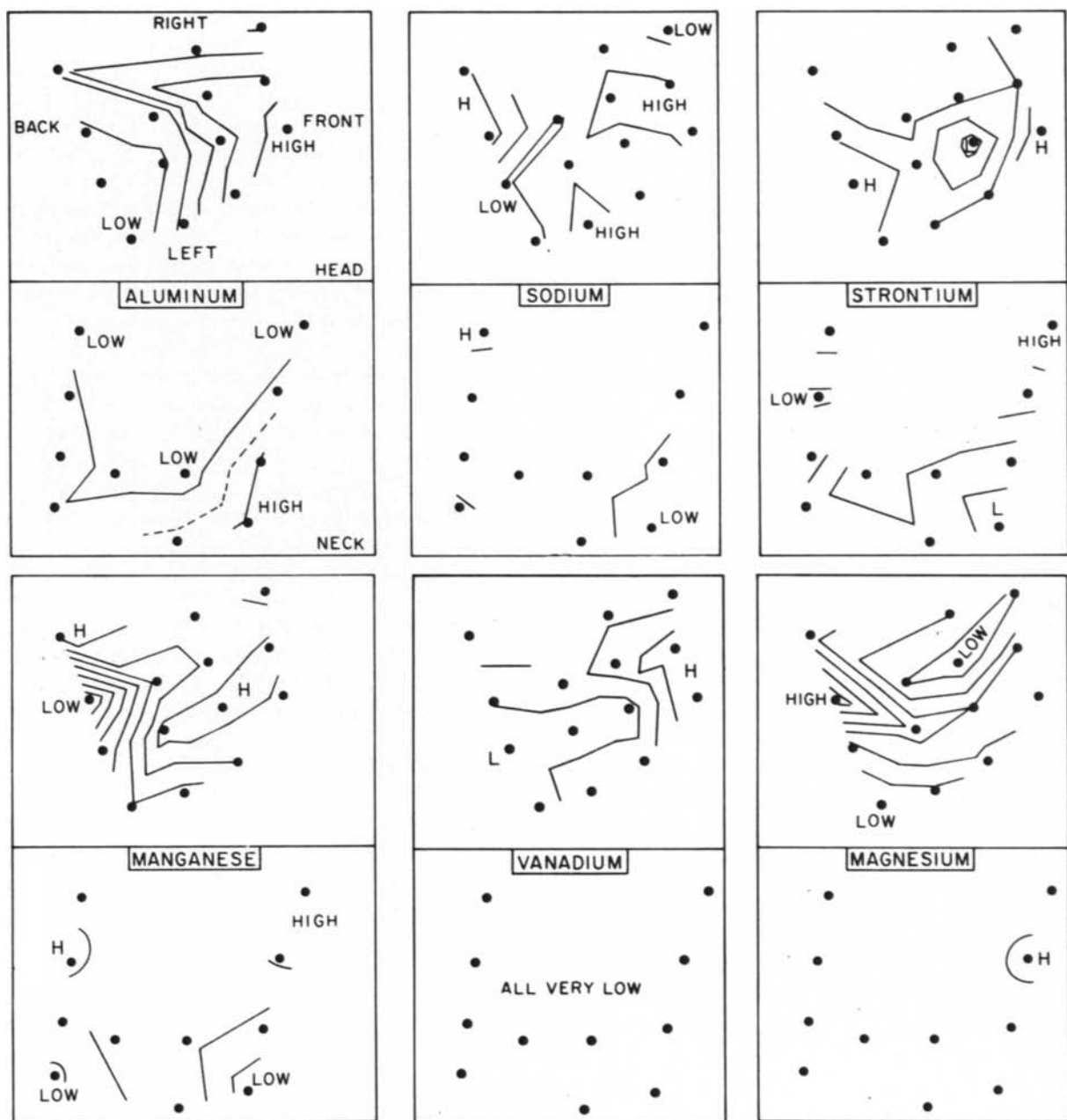
millimeters, the powder being collected on a clean weighing paper. In this way some 30-50 milligrams of material was collected from each location and placed in a small polyethylene vial. The vial was packed and heat-sealed as soon as possible to avoid changes in the water content of the material on exposure to air.

The samples thus obtained were irradiated in the neutron flux of the U.C.I. Nuclear Reactor (Fig. 2) and the induced radioactivity determined by gamma-ray spectrometry using a 36 cm³ Ge-Li detector coupled to a 4096 channel analyser. Peak areas corresponding to significant gamma rays were determined by a computer fitting routine. In this process the energies of the rays emitted from a sample after it has been exposed to a high neutron flux during the course of irradiation were identified. By comparing these to known gamma ray energies, the chemical components which make up the sample can be determined in relative form. Also, the absolute concentrations present can be determined by a simultaneous analysis of a standard of known concentrations, but this was not necessary in the present work.

In order to minimize disfiguration of the sculptures, sampling operations were restricted to the neck area immediately adjacent to the large cavity in the torso.

2. Rybard, L. and Nissen, H.V., *Radiochemical Methods of Analysis*, International Atomic Energy Authority, Salzburg, 1965; Craig, H., and Craig, V., *Science* 176, 401 (1972); Cenforto, L., Felici, M., Monna, D., Serra, L., and Taddeuci, A., *Archaeometry* 17, 201 (1975).

3. see note 1 for greater analytical detail.



8. Jupiter, elemental concentrations.

and to the flattened area of the head where the neck would have adjoined. (Fig. 3) In each of these areas drilling sites were selected which would allow sample comparison for a number of different head-body orientations. The real distance between these two sets of sampling locations, for aesthetic reasons in head placement, varied from 5 to 10 centimeters. This, in itself, required caution in forming conclusions based on matching of the analytical data. The sampling locations

and the relative orientation, with the assumption of the original orientation of the head, are shown for the Aphrodite in figure 4.

As a result of 15 second irradiations of the samples, concentration values were obtained for each sampling location for magnesium, aluminum, and vanadium. From a 30 minute reactor irradiation, values for manganese, strontium, and sodium were acquired. If the bottom of the head and the neck region of the pieces

were originally connected within the same block of marble, then their respective elemental composition patterns must match along one specific orientation. It is important in comparison to bear in mind several features of the hypothesis of the internal structure variation within a marble block. The first of these is that the plane of sampling is a product of the whim of the sculptor and subsequent decay and breakage, and not at the disposal of the analyst. Indeed, the piece-to-piece separation distance of the sampling locations can only be estimated. Thus a vertical pattern repeat might be an exception rather than a rule and some angular shift is rather likely. This results from the original source of contamination being spread out through the marble by plastic flow. If we envision the original contaminants in a simple fashion as a point source, then as we go radially from this point source the concentration values would rapidly decrease. It is analogous to placing several drops of a colored pigment in a can of white paint and slowly stirring. As we stir, the colored pigment slowly spreads out from the point we originally set it, and its concentration changes as a function of distance. What we are comparing are the areas of relative high and low concentrations of elements in the head to the areas of relative high and low concentrations in the neck region of the torso. These regions are indicated in the diagrams in Fig. 5.

In these diagrams, the A-Z and the B-Y axes are the same as those included in fig. 4 and assume that the head-body orientation proposed by Dr. Frel is indeed correct. In each portion of the separate parts of Fig. 5, the upper section represents the results from the head and the lower, those from the neck region.

The contour diagrams, although crude in scale, reveal distinct areas of variability that do indeed reappear with some positional shifting in the matching piece. In fact,

rather similar positional changes in going from head to neck are observed in the results for aluminum, sodium, and vanadium. These similarities are taken to mean that the evidence from the chemical analysis supports the conclusion that the head was indeed an integral part of the body and that the original orientation was very like that now adopted.

The head of the Westmacott Jupiter⁴ has no material links with the deep cavity of the torso. On the basis of the type of marble, workmanship, and proportions, it was thought that the head did not belong to the torso⁵. But the marble types seemed close enough to warrant the chemical analysis. Fig. 6 shows the bottom of the head after the drilling procedure was completed.

The pieces were first carefully cleaned prior to removal of sample material. The procedures followed were essentially the same as those used for the Aphrodite. Analytical data were obtained for the elements aluminum, vanadium, magnesium, manganese, strontium, and sodium.

Fig. 7 shows the orientation of sampling locations assuming a completely frontal orientation of the head. Fig. 8 shows the contour diagrams for the six elements determined. In this figure, the head is again the upper portion and the neck region of the torso is the lower. Again, if the two pieces were originally connected over a short distance, then matching patterns of elemental concentrations along one specific orientation would be expected. In this particular set, no one orientation produced a pattern match satisfactory for all six elements determined. As the distance between the sampling locations was perhaps as much as 8 to 12 centimeters the conclusion must in this case be rather less certain. However, from this data there was no strong evidence that the head and torso were once part of the same block of marble.

Louis Sangermano, George E. Miller,
and † Don L. Bunker
U.C. Irvine

4. 70.AA.124 Cornelius Vermeule. *The Westmacott Jupiter: An Enthroned Zeus of Late Antique Aspect*. J. Paul Getty Museum Journal II, p. 99-108.

5. David Rinne and Jif Frel *ib.* 108 (Fig. 1, pp. 102 shows the state with the restoration, Fig. 2 pp. 103, the body, fig. 3 p. 106) the head, separated.



Fig. 1 Defendente Ferrari. *Adoration of the Magi*.

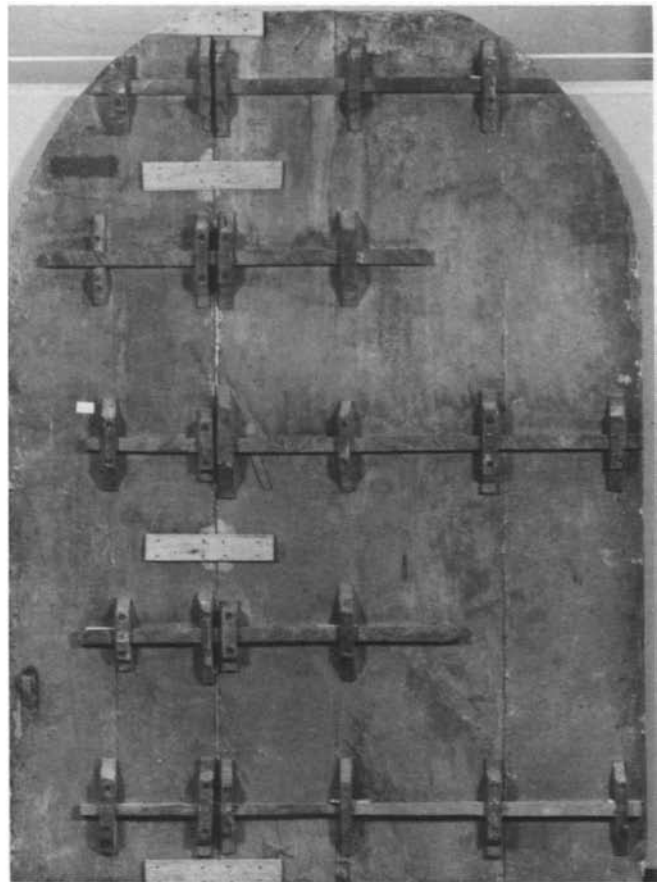


Fig. 2 The painting rests on a composite support of five separate panels fortified by auxiliary support members.

AN ADORATION OF THE MAGI ATTRIBUTED TO DEFENDENTE FERRARI: OBSERVATIONS ON THE SUPPORT

Examination of the support of a painting frequently offers insight into its present physical state. The *Adoration of the Magi*, a sixteenth century panel attributed to Defendente Ferrari¹ now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, provides the opportunity for such analysis. Indeed, the current condition of the picture results in part from the working methods of the artist. Tool marks and defects in the material of this painting survive as testimony to the craftsman's task of

preparing the wood and joining the supporting panels. Inspection of these historical clues invites conclusions

The authors thank Donald A. Hull for the photographs.

The terms artist and craftsman have been used interchangeably to indicate the person who constructed the support.

1. J. Paul Getty Museum acc. no. 74.PA.31. The painting was purchased as a Defendente Ferrari *Adoration of the Magi* from the Contini-Bonacossi Collection in 1974.



Fig. 3 Examination of an edge reveals concentric growth rings and a tongue and groove joint.

Fig. 4 Diagonal grooves on the back illustrate the planing motion employed to flatten the surface longitudinally as well as transversely.

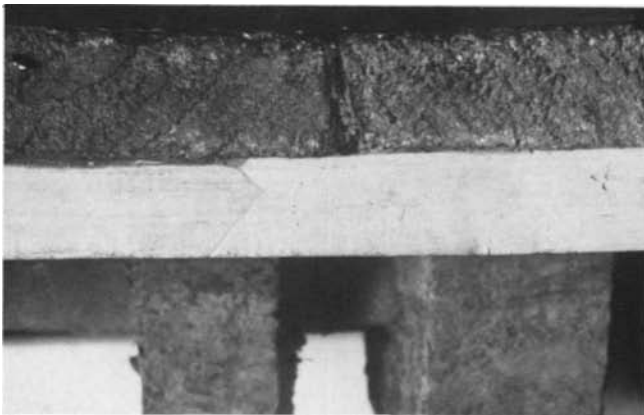


Fig. 5 Only the second seam from the left, seen from below, exhibits a glued, butt joint.

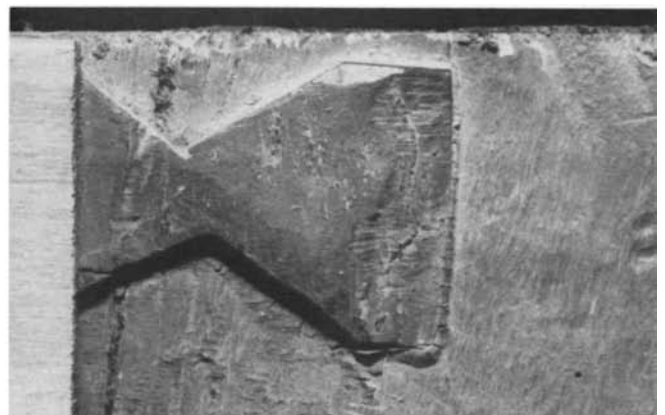


Fig. 7 Reverse of Fig. 6. (detail)

regarding the need for the elaborate auxillary support system attached to the back of the primary supporting panels. In light of what we know about the construction, the physical evidence facilitates our appreciation of the original appearance of the painting and helps to clarify the problems of degeneration that continually threaten the vulnerable support.

The painting rests on a composite support of five separate panels fortified by auxillary support members (Figs. 1 and 2). The structure forms an arched panel measuring 260.8 cm high and 185.0 cm wide. The width of the planks varies from 29.5 cm. to 48.5 cm. Yet, they do have a uniform thickness of 2.5 cm, which agrees with the standard for Italian wood panel paintings of the period.² The structure incorporates a secondary support system consisting of five transverse wooden battens held in place by carriers that are glued and nailed into the panels. Only the lowest batten, evidently a modern replacement, consists of two separate pieces of wood. The number of carriers and nails per cross-member varies according to the length of the battens, the longer struts requiring greater support. In addition, four newer horizontal pieces of wood (obviously more recent additions, judging by their color and texture) are nailed directly into the panel and span one of the central joints. The auxillary cross-members will be discussed in greater detail below.

Visible clues on the reverse of the picture reflect the artist's method of preparing the wood for use as a primary painting support. Initially, the craftsman cut five planks from one or more pine logs. Examination of the cross-sections at the ends of each piece reveals that none of the concentric growth rings of the tree are perpendicular to the surface of the boards (Fig. 3). Evidently a regular saw cut was used rather than the more advanced and more efficient method of quarter cutting. Once cut, the boards were left to dry and then individually planed on the side designated to receive the paint layer. Tool marks indicate that similar planing occurred again on the reverse after the panels were joined. Diagonal grooves on the back illustrate the planing motion employed to flatten the surface longitudinally as well as transversely (Fig. 4). A closer examination of these grooves reveals that the blade of the planing tool was poorly adjusted and defaced by a small dent. After a few strokes, either the blade was readjusted and sharpened or the plane was exchanged for another, because the defects disappear. Starting from the outer edge of the right board, the plane marks are interrupted in the center of the plank but continue on the adjoining board. Evidently, even after joining,

2. Elizabeth C. G. Packard and John C. Kirby, "The Structure of Some South German Panel Paintings," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, X (1947), 92, n.4.



Fig. 8 Roentgenograms demonstrate the wooden dowels and the tongue and groove system used to construct three of the four joints of the panel.



Fig. 6 Cracks held together by balancing dovetails appear at the top edge of the central board.

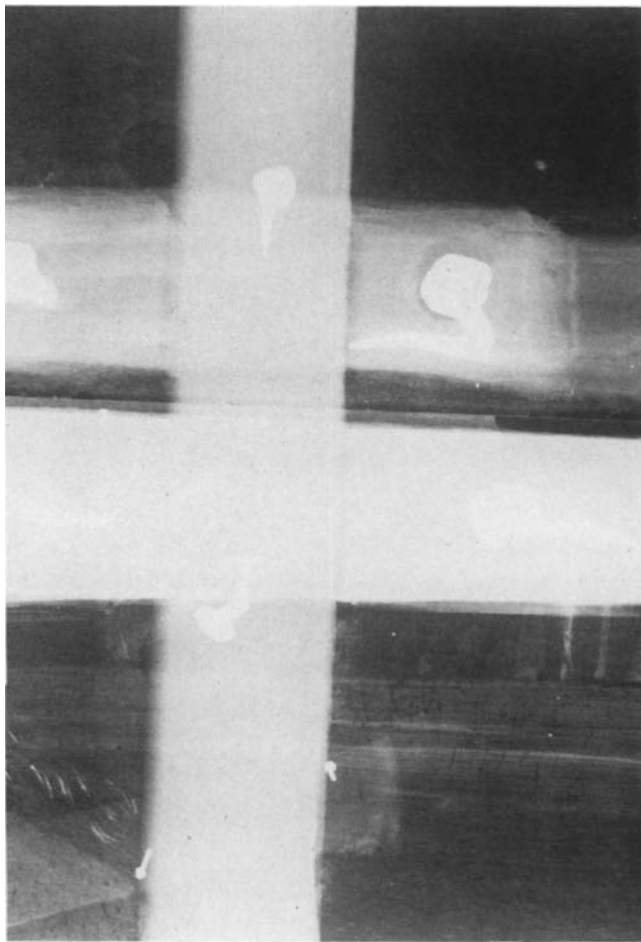


Fig. 9 Roentgenograms demonstrate that the tips of the supporting nails are bent.

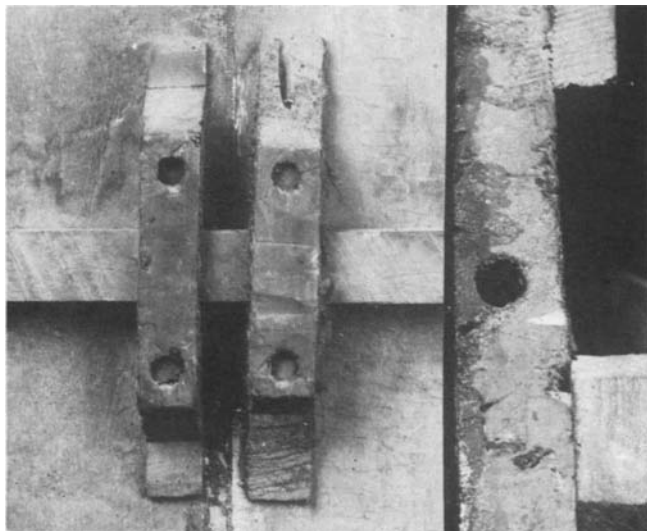


Fig. 10 The craftsman attached carriers on either side of the vulnerable seam and then hammered two nails alongside these carriers through the battens.

Fig. 11 The upper curved edge of the second panel exhibits a hole drilled into the arch exactly where a join would have occurred had the panel continued.

the boards did not present an even surface. Perhaps this particular problem of warpage contributed to the decision to incorporate an auxillary support system.

Further study of the marks on the reverse and edges of the picture indicates the technique by which the artist joined and strengthened the separate panels. A look at the edges of the boards near the joins reveals that the predominant method of assembling the panels is tongue and groove (Fig. 3). Only the second seam from the left exhibits a glued butt joint (Fig. 5). The inconsistency encourages speculation as to why the craftsman did not tongue and groove this one joint. Clearly, the seam would have been much stronger if he had employed the double locking system. Perhaps the craftsman faced the problem of constructing a panel with predetermined dimensions. If he was concerned with size he could avoid narrowing the overall width of the panel by opting for a butt joint, because a tongue and groove by its very nature would have cost him a loss of 1.5 cm in overall width. Examination of the edges along the flat joint reveals an area where bark still remains on one of the panels. Again, perhaps with size in mind, the artist chose not to plane down the uneven edge. Other evidence indicates that the artist strove to make the final support structurally sound. For instance, he followed a deliberate method in repairing splits. Two cracks held together by three balancing dovetails appear at the top and bottom edges of the central board (Figs. 6 and 7). In each case, the artist inserted a pair of dovetails into the board from the front and another one into the back of the plank. Apparently understanding the internal stresses of wood, he counterbalanced the dovetails.

Roentgenograms of the painting substantiate and augment the structural information already derived from the visual evidence. They demonstrate the tongue and groove system used to construct three of the four joints of the panel, and they verify the direction of the tongue as seen at the edges of the panel. Details reveal what the eye cannot see (Fig. 8). The groove measures 1.5 cm while the tongue measures 1.3 cm. The slight discrepancy of the two measurements results in a space which appears as a dark vertical line in the radiograph. As expected, no such construction appears at the second seam, which is not a tongue and groove joint. Further study of the roentgenograms reveals wooden dowels that cannot be seen on physical examination. Placed sporadically along the length of the joins, the dowels add extra support to the tongue and groove joints between the boards, since their grain runs lengthwise. Incidentally, the x-rays also reveal that the artist made an occasional incorrect drilling where spaces appear in the wood but do not encase dowels.

Additional information gathered from the roentgenograms and visual clues lends credence to the speculation

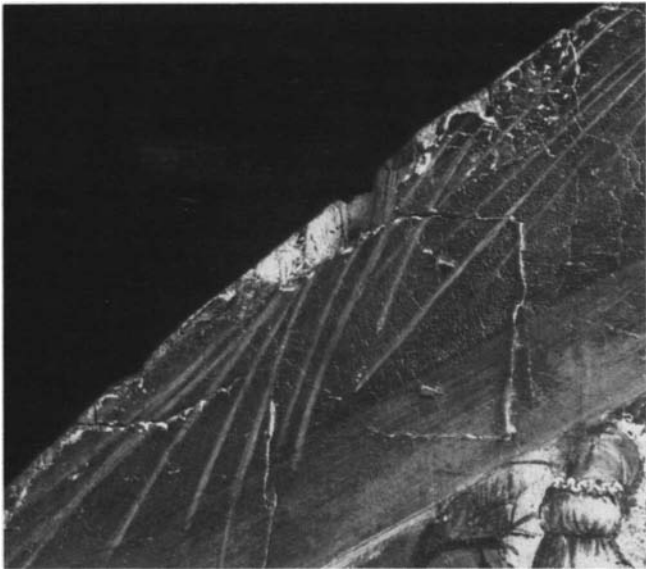


Fig. 12 The only occurrence of a single dovetail appears on the front along the upper left edge of the arch.

that the auxillary members were attached to the primary support of the painting at the time of its original construction. As mentioned above, the reverse of the panel displays five transverse wooden battens that slip through four to six wooden carriers per batten. Simple visual examination suggests that except for the one obvious replacement, the battens are made of oak as are eight of the random carriers. The remaining carriers as well as the planks which comprise the panel are pine. The like appearance of the woods relative to age implies that four of the battens and all of the carriers are original. Likewise, the irregular heads and square stems of the forged nails that attach the carriers to the panels denote their age and support their early date. Moreover, the roentgenograms demonstrate that the tips of the supporting nails are bent (Fig. 9). Further visual and microscopic examination of the design layer verifies the originality of the overlying paint. Together these observations suggest that the tips of the nails were hammered down flat before the ground preparation was applied to the support. If so, the carriers and battens must have been attached to the panel before the picture was painted.

The construction of the battens and carriers demonstrates the craftsman's understanding of the cross-grain expansion and contraction of wood; it implies a sophisticated appreciation of the problems created by a composite structure. Rather than simply nailing transverse pieces of wood across the joins in an effort to retard warpage, as was common in the sixteenth century,³ the artist devised a system whereby cross-bars would move with the stress. Recognizing the



Fig. 13 The most obvious disturbance appears in the displacement of the second and third boards along the singular butt joint.

greater strength of hard woods, he constructed the cross-bars out of oak rather than pine. In so doing, he foreshadowed the modern method of cradle-making.⁴ The battens prevent the wood from twisting longitudinally, and their roughly regular spacing contributes to their effectiveness. Similarly, the placement of the supportive carriers at the extremes rather than the middle of the boards diminished the internal stress of each plank. Furthermore, the craftsman of the *Adoration* panel apparently realized the weakness of the one butt, glued joint. In an effort to strengthen only that joint, he attached carriers on either side of the

3. Packard and Kirby, 92.

4. "The Care of Wood Panels," *Museum*, VIII, 3 (1955), 159.

vulnerable seam and then hammered two nails alongside these carriers through the battens (Fig. 10). At first glance, this final measure might appear to refute the contention that this craftsman understood the need to allow the natural movement of wood. However, by securing the battens only in this one area the artist tried to give local fortification to the weak joint without jeopardizing the lateral movement of the remainder of each batten. In short, the artist understood and attempted to solve the structural problems of a multi-panelled support.

In light of the sophisticated approach of the artist of the Getty *Adoration*, certain peculiarities arouse suspicion with respect to the present format of the picture. Visual clues on the reverse demonstrate that the central part of the picture still appears in its original height. For instance, the battens and carriers are roughly equidistant from the top and bottom of the panel. In addition, the dovetails which join old checks in the wood appear sensibly spaced from the current top edges of the picture. Finally, nail holes appearing in a faded chevron pattern at the top of the central board imply that a metal hanging device once occupied this area. However, other incognuities bring into question the current arched shape of the picture. In particular, only the uppermost batten has bevelled ends to conform to the shape of the arch, and saw marks on the panel suggest that they were cut while mounted in place. Also, only five carriers support the top batten; the other two battens that span all five planks have instead six carriers each. Moreover, the upper curved edge of the second panel exhibits a hole drilled into the arch exactly where a join would have occurred had the panel continued (Fig. 11). The hole matches precisely those seen encasing dowels in the roentgenograms. Yet, its location appears to deny this purpose since nothing adjoins it. Finally, the only occurrence of a single dovetail appears on the front along the upper left edge of the arch (Fig. 12). Curiously, the arch cuts through part of this dovetail thus negating its sole purpose, i.e. to join separate parts of a check. These inconsistencies with the predetermined method of construction support the conclusion that the panel has been altered at its

outermost upper edges.

The composition and state of the design layer corroborate the structural evidence of subsequent alteration. A 1 cm border without painting exists along the left edge of the picture except in the area of the arch. Along the arch and in portions of the right edge, the composition continues all the way out to the end. We assume, therefore, that the border has been sacrificed. We can only speculate as to why the panel was cut back in these areas. Perhaps it was irreparably damaged in its periphery, or perhaps it had to meet the confines of a new space or frame. Whatever the motive, the physical evidence coupled with our knowledge of the technique of construction suggest that the current appearance of the picture differs from the original one.⁵

The structure of the support has a profound influence on the appearance of the paint layer. The most obvious disturbance appears in the displacement of the second and third boards along the singular butt joint (Fig. 13). Although other seams are weakened by adjacent bowed panels and aged glue, this seam demonstrates the greatest deterioration and reflects the intrinsic weakness of the joint. Other ruptures in the paint appear sporadically throughout the design layer. Referring again to the support, we note that cleavage occurs precisely in the location of the nails that secure the carriers to the back of the panel. Clearly, the stress of the expansion and contraction of the wood has pushed the nails through to the paint layer. The same movement accounts for the appearance of dovetails on the front of the painting (Fig. 6). Originally incorporated in the thickness of the wood panels, these dovetails eventually rupture the paint film and contribute to its deterioration.

In conclusion, a methodical inspection of the construction of the Getty *Adoration of the Magi* provides insight into the present appearance of the painting and helps explain the patterns of degeneration. Carefully evaluated, the physical evidence on the reverse sheds light on the working methods of the craftsman who made the panel. Each of the problems of condition may in turn be linked directly to the construction of the support of the *Adoration* panel.

Carol C. Mancusi - Ungaro,
Patrice A. Pinaquy,
Malibu

5. In at least one other instance, a rectangular panel of this size attributed to Defendente Ferrari has been recut, videlicet the oval

Madonna with Saints of the Parocchia di S. Giovanni in Cirie. See Vittorio Viale, *Gotico e Rinascimento in Piemonte* (1939), 88, pl. 60.



1 M. van Heemskerck, fol.31 r.

HERAKLIT IN EPHEOS

Befragt man die antiken Quellen über das Aussehen Heraklit, wird man ohne Antwort bleiben, war er doch einer der *non traditi vultus*. Immerhin erfährt man aus ihnen einiges über seinen Charakter, etwa, dass er ein *ὑπερόπτης* und *ὀχλολοῖδορος*¹ war. Heraklit stammte aus dem ephesischen Herrschergeschlecht der Basilidai, in dem sich die vom Stadtgründer Androklos herrührende Priesterwurde fortsetzte². Die Nachricht, dass der Philosoph diese, als die Reihe an ihn kam, seinem Bruder abtrat³ und dass er ferner eine Einladung des Dareios I. an dessen Hof abschlug⁴,

lässt darauf schliessen, dass er ein Verächter von Prunk und Ruhm war. Dem seit dem 1.Jh.n.Chr. bekannten Bild des Heraklit als weinenden Philosophen⁵ dürfte kynische Färbung zugrunde liegen, die den Pessimismus

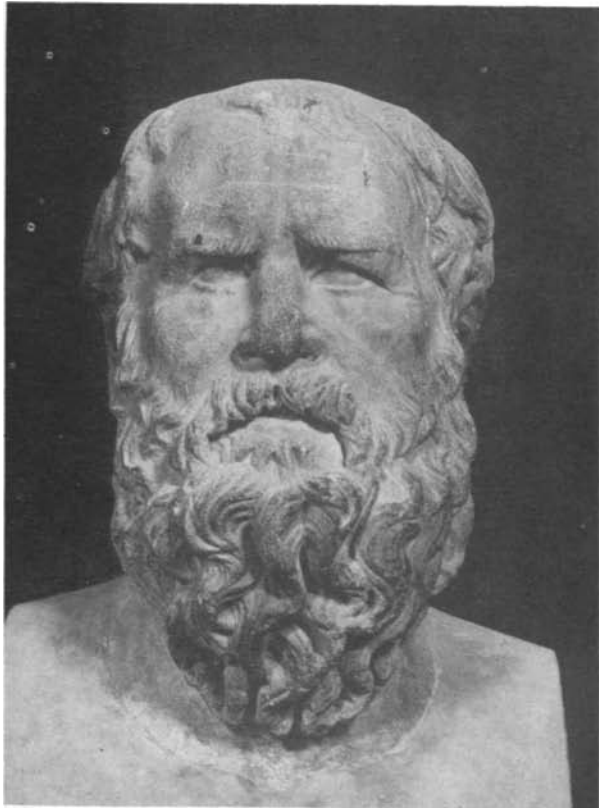
1) Diog.Laert.IX,1; Timon frg.43 Diels.

2) Diog.Laert.IX,6; vgl.M.Marcovich, RE Suppl.X,250 s.v. *Herakleitos*; A.Dietrich, KIPauly II, 1046 s.v.*Herakleitos*.

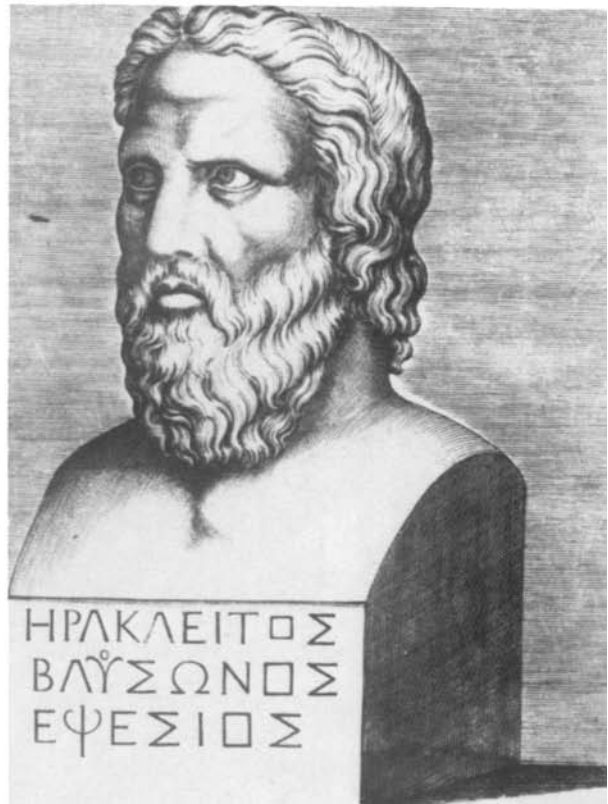
3) Vgl.Anm.2

4) Ps.-Heraklit-Brief I,II, S.70 ed.Bywater; Diog.Laert.IX,12-14; Klem.*Strom.*I,65.

5) Vgl.Sen.*de ira* II 10,5; *de tranquill.*15,2 u.a.



2 Griechen, Stanza dei filosofi 3



3 A.Statius Taf.VIII

und die sozialkritische Haltung des Ephesiens hervorkehrte⁶. Diese wenigen von Heraklit überlieferten Züge lassen ein ernstes und wenig freundliches Bild des Philosophen vor uns erstehen, helfen aber nicht, sein Porträt im Kopschatz nachzuweisen. So sah sich die Forschung bei der Identifizierung des Heraklit-Porträts vor eine scheinbar unlösbare Aufgabe gestellt, wurde jedoch nicht müde in dem Versuch, Bildnisse mürrisch blickender Greise als Heraklit zu benennen⁷. Einer von diesen willkürlich benannten Bärtigen verdient besondere Erwähnung: Er wurde im 16.Jh. von Marten van Heemskerck gezeichnet⁸. (Abb. 2-3).

In der antiken Literatur sind von Heraklit eine Statue im Zeuxippos zu Konstantinopel bezeugt⁹ sowie ein Gemälde, das ihn *fletu oculis clausis* einem Bildnis des Demokrit *risu labris apertis* gegenübergestellt zeigte¹⁰.

Letztere Nachricht veranlasste im vorigen Jahrhundert den italienischen Archäologen Locatelli, einen von Restauratorenehrsamkeit enstellten Sophokles-Farnese-Kopf, der durch geschlossene Augen zu einem Homerbildnis des Epimenides-Typus werden sollte, auf Heraklit zu deuten¹¹. Die fragmentarische Inschrift ΗΡΑΚΛ[ΕΙΤΟΣ] auf einer Statuenbasis des 3.Jhs.v.Chr., die beim Aphroditetempel von Paphos gefunden wurde¹², erweist, dass der hohe Hellenismus ein Heraklit-Bildnis kannte. Wenn uns auch ein Standbild des Philosophen in seiner Heimatstadt nicht ausdrücklich überliefert ist, so lässt sich doch aus dem Wortlaut des 4.pseudoheraklitischen Briefes ein solches erschliessen, das Heraklit als Herakles darstellte¹³. Die Gleichsetzung Heraklit-Herakles entspricht ebenfalls kynischer Tradition, wobei auch die ähnlich klingenden

6) Marcovich a.0.255 (mit Angabe sämtlicher Primärquellen zum weinenden Philosophen).

7) Vgl.z.B.G.M.A.Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* I, fig. 308,409,411.

8) Chr.Huelsen-H.Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher des M.van Heemskerck* I Fol.31 r. Kapitöl, Stanza dei filosofi 3; Stuart Jones pl. 54; AB 677/8; A. Hekler, *Die Bildniskunst der Griechen und Römer* (1912) 34; Richter a.0.fig.311. Die nebenstehende Replik (Stanza dei filosofi 2; AB 675/6; Hekler a.0.35) ist stark

überarbeitet, vgl.J.Frel, *Contributions à l'iconographie grecque* 30, Anm.126 (der ebendort S.29 vorgeschlagene Zusammenhang mit der Herme im J. Stuart Gardner Museum in Boston, abgeb.bei Richter, a.0.fig.388/9, besteht in Wirklichkeit nicht).

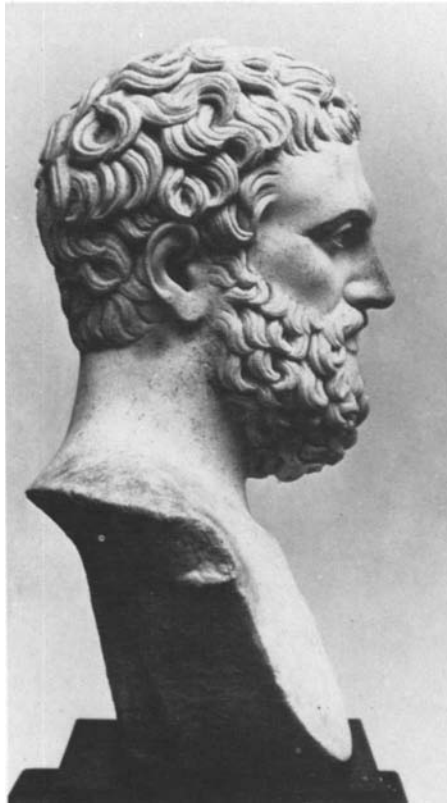
9) Christodor. *ekphr.* 354-356 (Anth.Pal.II).

10) Sidon.Apoll.*ep.* IX,9,14; vgl.auch c.II, 170 f.

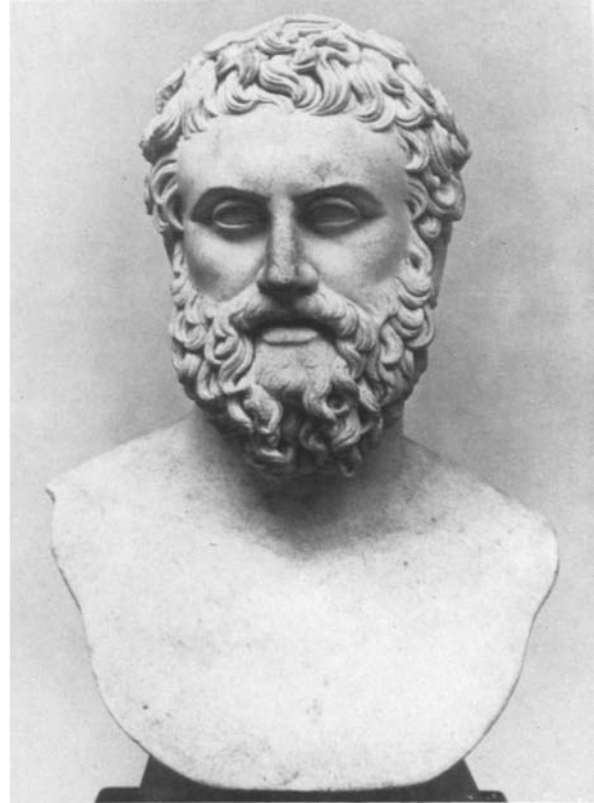
11) Frel, *Contributions* 18.

12) SEG XX,1964,Nr.183.

13) S.72.Z.1 u.3 ed.Bywater; vgl.Marcovich a.0.256.



4/5 Herakleitos, Budapest



Namen mitgespielt haben dürften¹⁴. Vielleicht ist es die Keule des Herakles, vielleicht jedoch der *οκίμων*, das knotenartige Herrscherinsignium der Basilidai¹⁵, der Familie des Heraklit, das seinem Bild auf ephesischen Münzen beigegeben ist¹⁶: Es zeigt ihn mit langem Haar und Bart, in einen Mantel gehüllt, der den Oberkörper weitgehend freilässt, und in der Linken einen Knotenstock führend. Diese Münzbildnisse stellten die Grundlage für die Benennung einer Porträtstatue aus Gortyn auf Heraklit dar, die sich heute im Museum zu Heraklion befindet¹⁷. Es handelt sich um eine severische Arbeit nach einem kaum wesentlich älteren klassizistischen Original¹⁸. Wegen ihres Knotenstockes wurde

eine durch Verwischung bis zur Unkenntlichkeit zerstörte Sitzstatue aus dem Serapeion zu Memphis ebenfalls auf Heraklit gedeutet¹⁹. Da in der Statuengalerie des Serapeion neben Dichtern vor allem Philosophen vertreten sind, erscheint die Anwesenheit des Heraklit sehr plausibel. Aber auch in einer anderen Porträtgalerie - abgesehen von der willkürlichen und ungerechtfertigten Benennung einer Bronzeherme im Peristyl der Villa dei papiri in Herculaneum auf Heraklit²⁰ - befand sich ein Bildnis des ephesischen Philosophen: unter den Hermen aus der sogenannten "Villa der Pisonen" bei Tivoli war auch eine mit dem Porträt des Heraklit. Bei den Ausgrabungen konnte

14) Vgl. Marcovich a.0.253.

15) Strab. XIV, 633.

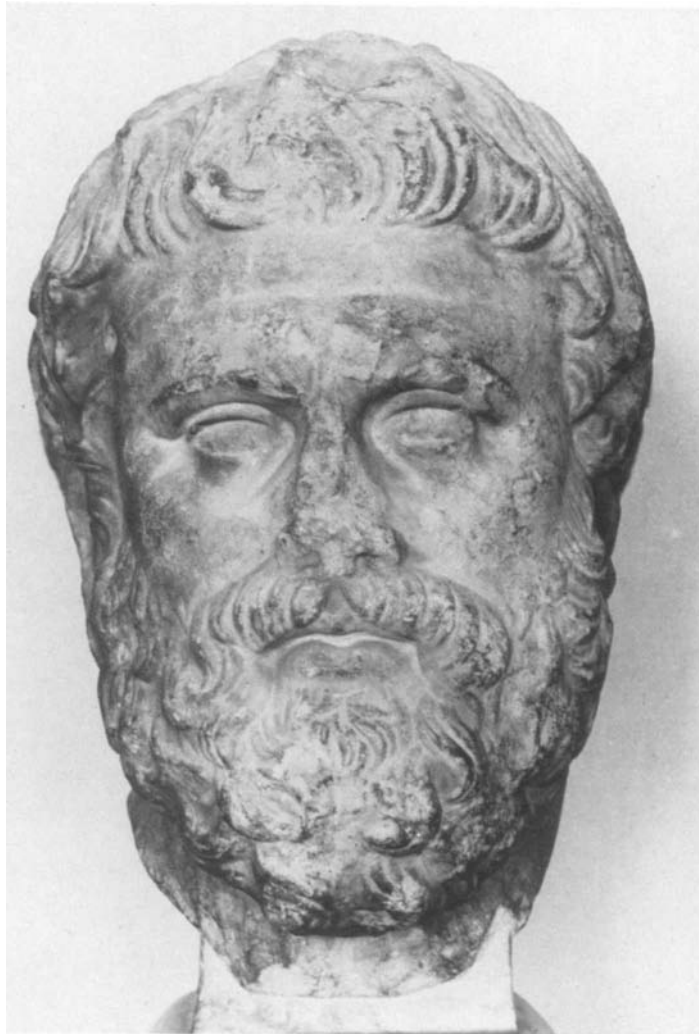
16) Richter a.0.fig.313; K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, 173, 16.

17) G. Lippold, AM 36, 1911, 153-156; G. Dondas, AM 69/70, 1954/55, Beil. 54, 2; Schefold a.0.161, 4; Richter a.0.fig.306 f, 310.

18) Schefold a.0.160, 215.

19) U. Wilcken, JdI 32, 1917, 167; J. Ph. Lauer-C. Picard, *Les statues Ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis*, 141; Th. Lorenz, *Galerien von griechischen Philosophen- und Dichterbildnissen bei den Römern*, 5.

20) Lorenz, a.0.11, Nr. IV, 3, Taf. IV, 2 (auch Demokrit und Solon genannt). Außer dem sog. Heraklit (A) gehörten der Hermengalerie noch die Büsten des sog. Demokrit (B), des sog. Pythagoras (C), eines jungen Mannes (D) sowie des polykletischen Doryphoros und einer Amazone (E, F) an, vgl. Lorenz a.0.11, Nr. IV, 1, 2, 4-6, Taf. IV; D. Pandermalis, AM 86, 1971, 206 f, Nr. 51-56, Taf. 82, 1, 84, 1. M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*² (1961), 61, Abb. 192 f weist auf die Ähnlichkeit des "Demokrit" (B) mit dem Studniczka'schen Aristoteles hin. Der Bärtige C, der wegen seines Turbans als Pythagoras galt (vgl. Schefold a.0.100), scheint "une éditions plus mûre" des sog. Alkibiades zu sein, den V. Poulsen, *Les Portraits*



6 Herakleitos, Aix-en-Provence

allerdings nur mehr der kopflose Schaft mit der Inschrift ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ ΒΛΥΣΩΝΟΣ²¹ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΣ geborgen werden, der im 16.Jh. wiederholt gezeichnet wurde²². Schliesslich war es die oft Abbildung, mit deren Hilfe vor wenigen Jahren die Identifizierung einer Reihe von Porträtköpfen mit Heraklit gelang²³: Achilles Statius hatte eine schöne, inschriftlich als Heraklit gesicherte Herme aus dem Besitze des Kardinals de Medici in

seine Sammlung "Inlustrium virorum vultus" aufgenommen, die 1569 in Rom erschien (Abb. 1)²⁴. Sie zeigt einen ernst blickenden Mann mit mächtiger, gebuckelter Stirn, eingefallenen Schläfen, einem weichen Schnurrbart, der die Oberlippe bedeckt, und einer starken, unwillig vorgeschobenen Unterlippe. Zweifellos stellt der Stich dieselbe Persönlichkeit dar, deren Porträt in mindestens 7 Kopien auf uns gekommen ist²⁵:

grecs, 31, pl. VI als Philipp II. von Makedonien bezeichnen möchte. Diese Benennung hatte schon P. Arndt, *Strena Helbigiana*, 10 ff vorgeschlagen, vgl. auch G. Kleiner, *Festschrift Schweitzer*, 229 (gegen die Gleichsetzung des sog. Alkibiades mit Philipp II. vgl. H. v. Heintze, RM 68, 1961, 183 ff). Da in dem sog. Heraklit (A) ein Kyniker zu sehen ist (E. Buschor, *Das hellenistische Bildnis*², 1971, 27, Abb. 28) und zwischen dem Jüngling (D) und dem Alexander von Volantza in Olympia eine "gewisse Verwandtschaft" gegeben ist (Buschor a. O. 26, Abb. 23, 24), sei folgende Benennung der Büsten vorgeschlagen: A: Diogenes, B: Aristoteles, C: Philipp II. von Makedonien,

D: der junge Alexander. Diese "Galerie" wurde erst von dem Inhaber der Villa zusammengestellt. A und B sind ausgezeichnete Arbeiten, mit reicher Modellierung und feinen Gravierungen. Bei C und D ist die Oberfläche summarisch gehalten und die Kaltarbeit ist schematisch. A und B scheinen Wachsgüsse zu sein, C und D sind Sandgüsse, die technisch mit E und F zusammengehen.

21) Zur Überlieferung des Vaternamens vgl. Marcovich a. O. 246 f.

22) Lorenz a. O. 22 ff, Taf. XII, 2; Frel, Contributions 17.

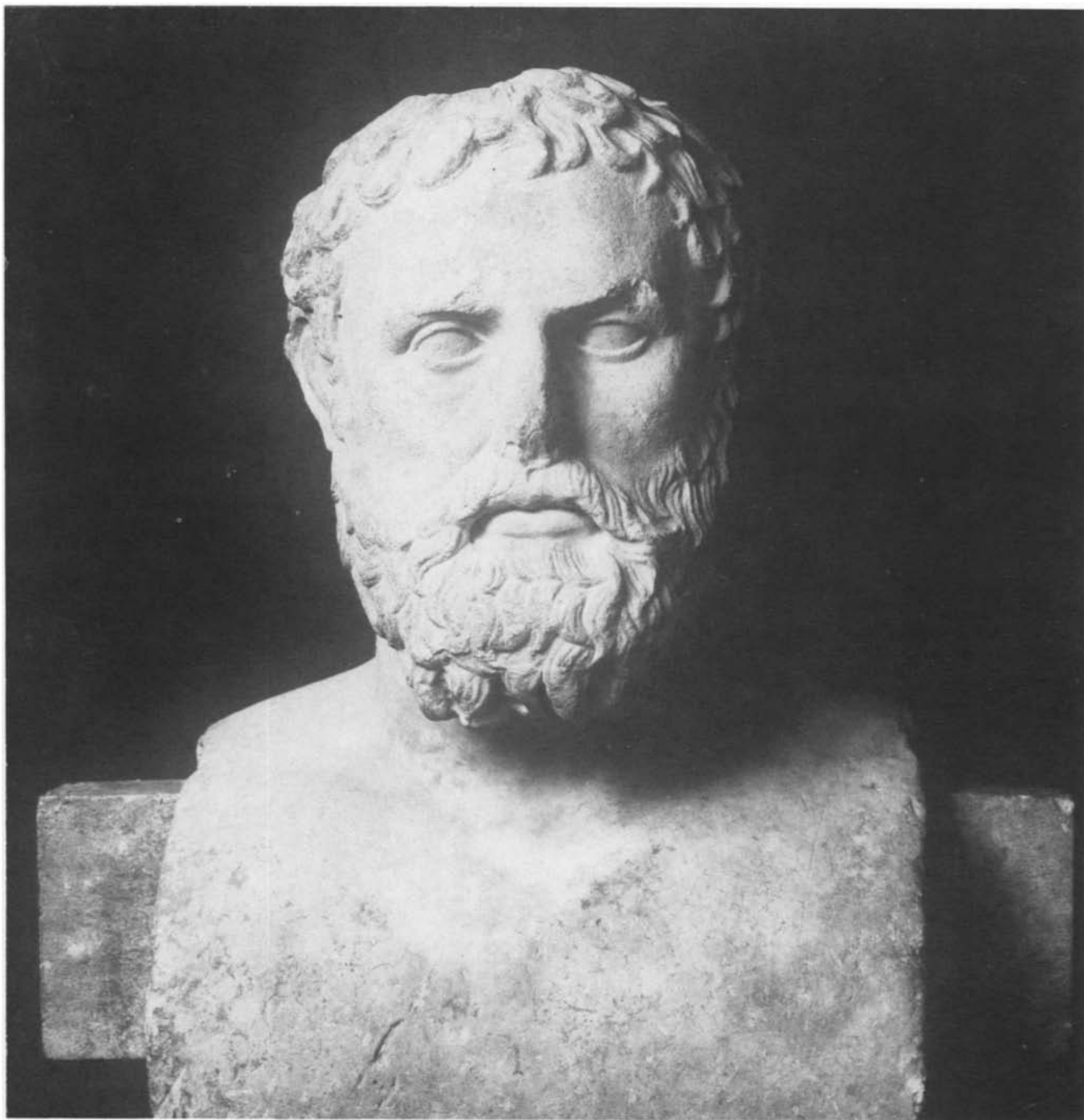
23) Frel, Contributions 17 ff.

24) Pl. VIII; Frel, Contributions pl. V, 5; ders., CIJ 66, 1971, 250, fig. 4.

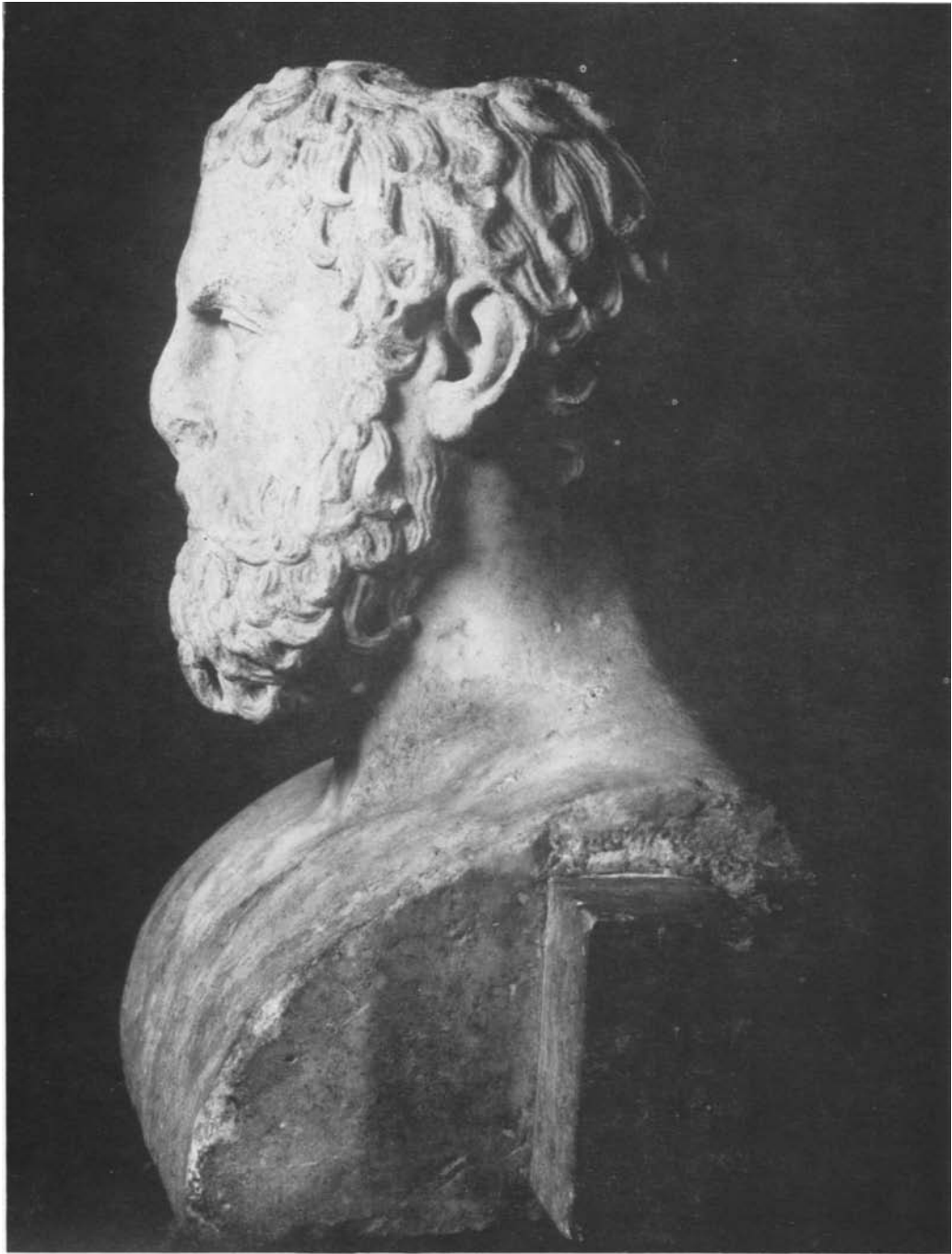
25) Zur Kopienkritik aller Exemplare vgl. Frel, Contributions 21-24.

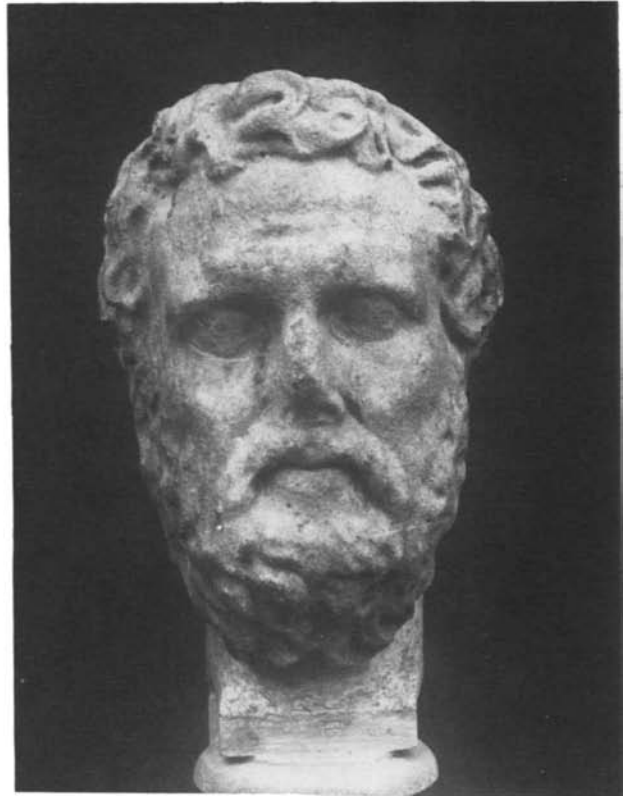
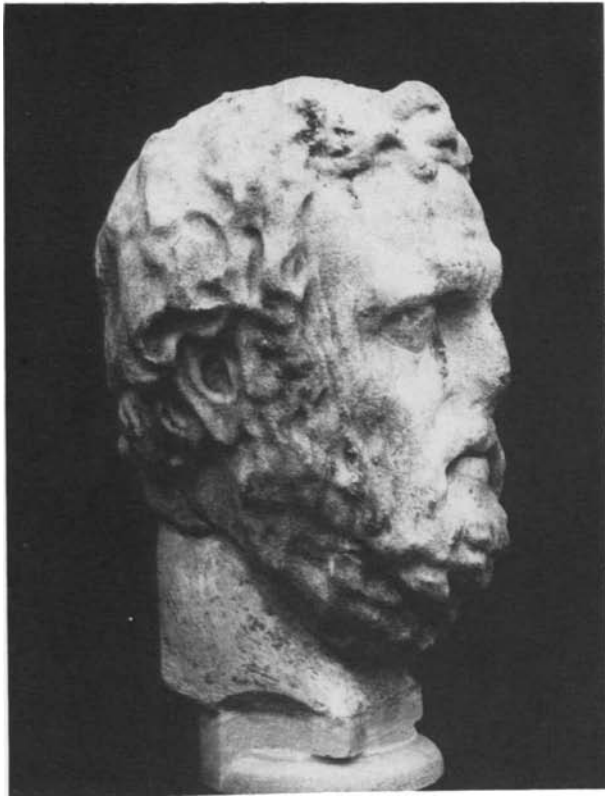


7-8 Herakleitos, Aix-en-Provence



9-10 Herakleitos, Boston





11-12 Herakleitos, Museo delle Terme

1. BUDAPEST, Museum der Schönen Künste (4-5) Frel, *Contributions* 21 f, pl.IV, VI; ders., *CIJ* 66,1971, 249,fig.2; Richter a.o.fig.369; A.Hekler, *Die Antiken in Budapest* I,Nr.45; V.Poulsen, *Acta Arch.* 14,1943,73-75, fig.8,10,12.-Der Kopf war zusammen mit einem Porträt des Hermarchos aufgefunden worden, was G.Lippold, *Griechische Porträtstatuen* 72, veranlasste, ohne ikonographische Gründe in ihm einen Landsmann des Hermarchos, nämlich Pittakos von Mytilene, zu sehen. Auch die Köpfe Nr.2 und 3 sowie ein Exemplar aus der Sammlung Campana (s.u.) fügte er dieser Reihe hinzu. Durch das Auftauchen einer inschriftlich bezeichneten Büste des Weisen aus Mytilene (Richter a.o.fig.361-363) erwies sich Lippolds Benennung jedoch als falsch.

2. ARANJUEZ, Sammlung Azara, aus Tivoli.

AB 625/6; Richter a.o.fig.366.-Ritter Azara, der den schaftlosen Kopf bei seinen Ausgrabungen in Tivoli fand, muss noch ein gesichertes Heraklit-Porträt gekannt haben: Er liess das Bildnis auf eine moderne Herme mit der Inschrift "Herakleitos" setzen.

3. AIX-EN-PROVENCE, Musée Granet. (Abb. 6-8).

Frel, *Contributions* pl.V,1, VII; ders., *CIJ* 66,1971, 250,fig.3; EA 1004.-Doppelherme. Vom Partner des Heraklit ist nur mehr die Frisur erhalten; es dürfte sich

jedoch nicht, wie Frel, *Contributions* 22 f,37, vor, um Demokrit handeln.

4. ROM, Villa Albani, Giardino Rialto.

EA 4511.-Der Kopf gehörte zusammen mit EA 4512 zu einer Doppelherme (vgl.Frel, *Contributions* 23). Der Partner des Heraklit ist noch unidentifiziert (zu seinen Repliken vgl. K.Schauenburg, *Antike Plastik* 2, 15 ff).

5. LONDON, British Museum 1834.

Poulsen, *Acta Arch.* 14,1943,77,fig.14; Richter a.o. fig.779 ("Euripides Rieti").

6. ROM, Thermenmuseum. (Abb. 11-12)

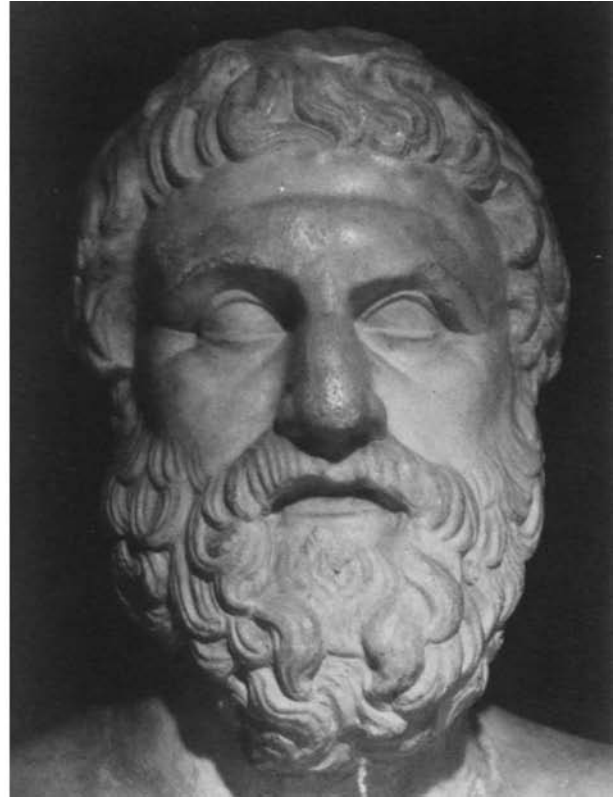
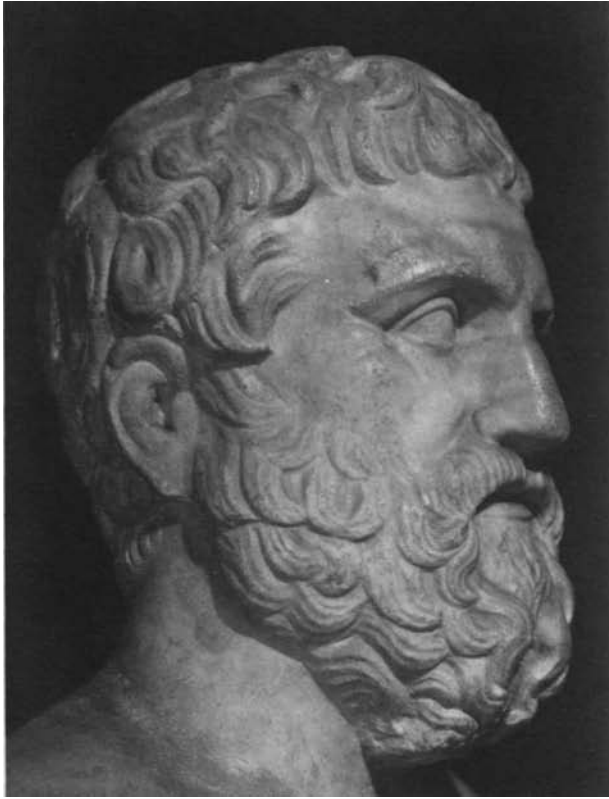
B.M.Felletti-Maj, *I ritratti*, Nr.10; Frel, *Contributions* 24, pl.III,4, V, 2.

7. BOSTON, Museum of Fine Arts (Abb. 9-10).

Frel, *CIJ* 249,fig.1; C.C.Vermeule, *CIJ* 65,1969,53, fig.4; EA 5052. *Greek and Roman Portraits* 470 BC-AD 500, Boston, MFA, 2. Aufl. 1072 [C.C. Vermeule] Nr. 6

Ein 8. Exemplar, eine kleine Bronzestatuette aus der Villa der Pisonen in Herculaneum, jetzt in Neapel, die schon mancherlei Benennungen erfahren hat, darf vielleicht als Variante des Heraklit-Typus gelten²⁶.

26) Frel, *Contributions* 24; ders., *CIJ* 66,1971,248; Richter a.o. fig.1294-1296.



13-14 Herakleitos (modern), Louvre

Wegen ihrer modernen Entstehung auszuschliessen ist die Replik aus der Sammlung Campana, die E. Minakaran - Hiesgen in einer jetzt im Louvre befindlichen Büste erkannt hat²⁷. (Abb. 13-14). Das Stück stammt von derselben Hand wie die Herme der Villa Albani Nr.81²⁸, wie ein Vergleich der flachen Ohrmuscheln und die schematische Gravierung der Haarsträhnen lehrt²⁹. Diese Herme wurde einst "Eracle" genannt und ist eine moderne Nachbildung des Hellenistischen "Archilochos-Pindaros"³⁰. Modern ist auch die Gemme im Athener Nationalmuseum mit inschriftlich bezeichneter Heraklit-Herme, die offensichtlich nach dem Stich des Statius geschnitten ist³¹.

Der Typus des Heraklit-Porträts, der wegen der Anzahl seiner Kopien als in der Antike recht verbreitet gelten darf, geht auf ein Original aus dem 3. Viertel des

4. Jhs.v.Chr. zurück, das vielleicht dem Silanion zuzuweisen ist³². Erstaunlich ist, dass sich in Ephesos, der Heimatstadt des Heraklit, die ihre Münzen von Antoninus Pius bis Saloninus mit seinem Bild schmückte³³, bis jetzt kein rundplastisches Porträt des Philosophen nachweisen liess. Kein Wunder, wenn man unter den reichen Funden der Artemis-Stadt danach Ausschau hält.

Unter den im Garten des Museums von Selçuk ausgestellten Skulpturen fällt ein marmorner Hermenpfeiler aus Ephesos mit dem Kopf eines bärtigen Mannes auf, der mit einer Binde im Haar und über das Hinterhaupt gezogenem Mantel dargestellt ist (Abb. 15-18)³⁴. Er gehörte mit einer Gruppe von mindestens 3 weiteren Hermen zum Schmuck des Nymphaeum Traiani, in dessen Prunkbecken er 1957 zusammen mit

27) Lippold, *Porträtstatuen* 73.1. Für die briefliche Auskunft sei E.Minakaran-Hiesgen herzlich gedankt.

28) AB 651/2.

29) Von Richter a.o.67 als verdächtig bezeichnet, von Frel, *Contributions* 30, Anm.131 für modern erklärt.

30) Richter a.o.fig.234-242.

31) Frel, *Contributions* 24,37, pl.V,3,4; Richter a.o.Suppl. fig. 312.

32) Frel, *Contributions* 30 ff; ders., *CIJ* 66,1971,251.

33) Vgl.St.Karwiese, *RE Suppl.*XII,355, s.v.Ephesos. Zum literarischen Nachweis einer Heraklit-Statue in Ephesos vgl.Anm.13.

34) Inv.-Nr.785. Photos: G.Haas. Die Gesamthöhe des Pfeilers beträgt 1,23 m, die Höhe des Kopfes 0,275 m. Vgl.H.Wrede, *Die spätantike Hermengalerie von Welschbillig*, Berlin 1972, 125, Taf.72,4.



15-16 Herme aus Ephesos, Herakleitos



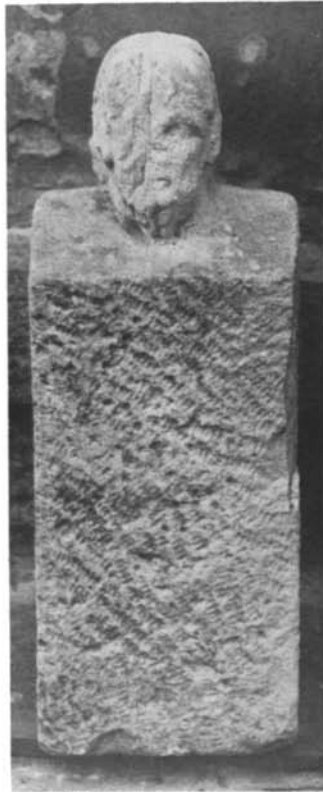
17-18 Herme aus Ephesos, Herakleitos



19 Kopf aus Ephesos, Herakleitos



20 Hermeschaft, Genf



21-23 Doppelherme, Plovdiv



zahlreichen anderen Statuen von F.Miltner gefunden wurde³⁵. An den Seiten der Pfeiler eingearbeitete Einlassungen³⁶ erweisen diese als Ständer für Schrankenplatten, die entweder als marmornes Hermengeländer am Rand des schmalen Schöpfbeckens aufgestellt waren³⁷ oder als attikaartiger Abschluss der zweigeschossigen Nymphäumsfassade dienten³⁸. Sie gehören jedoch nicht zur ursprünglichen Ausstattung des trajanischen Baues, sondern wurden in späterer Zeit hinzugefügt: Der Stil der Hermen weist in die 2.Hälfte des 4.Jhs.n.Chr.³⁹. Es ist anzunehmen, dass sie ihre Entstehung einer Erneuerung des beim Erdbeben von 368 n.Chr. zerstörten Nymphäums im Jahre 371 n.Chr. verdanken⁴⁰.

Zäune aus Stein, deren Pfosten von Hermen gebildet werden sind bereits aus dem 1.Jh.n.Chr. bekannt, wie ein Wandgemälde aus dem Hause des Lucretius Fronto in Pompeji zeigt⁴¹. Vier einzelne Hermen, die durch ihre Zurichtung die Verwendung als Hermenpfosten erkennen lassen, sind nachweisbar. Eine Doppelherme in Plovdiv aus der Zeit etwa um 200 n.Chr. (gefunden wahrscheinlich im Stadium, Abb. 21-23) zeigt einem bärtigen und einen bartlosen Satyr. Eine Doppelherme im Garten des Thermenmuseums verdoppelt einen

bärtigen Porträtkopf mit Dichterbinde (Abb. 24-25). Endlich zwei identische Hermen in Genf sind kopflos erhalten. (Eine Abb. 20; die nichtzugehörigen Köpfe wurden neuerdings abgenommen). Die Doppelhermen in Plovdiv und Rom weisen an den beiden Seiten des Hermenschaftes Einschnitte zur kulissenartigen Anbringung des Zaunes auf, während die beiden Genfer Beispiele Stiftlöcher zur Befestigung des Geländers zeigen.

Erhalten geblieben ist weiters ein Hermenzaum im Theater von Perge. Das Theater stammt aus hadriani-

35) F. Miltner, *ÖJh* 44, 1959, Beiblatt 339 f, 356 ff, Abb. 184-186; R. Fleischer, *Festschrift Eichler* 61, Abb. 25; W. Alzinger, *RE Suppl.* XII, 1607, 1701, s.v. Ephesos.

36) Unser Hermenpfeiler weist an den Seiten rechts und links oben Dübellöcher, rechts unten ein Klammerloch auf. Die rechteckigen Einlassungen konnten wegen ihrer hohen Anbringung nicht als Armlöcher, wie sie bei manchen Hermen auftreten, gedient haben.

37) Nach Ansicht von H. Pellionis, vgl. Alzinger a.O. 1607.

38) Miltner a.O. 339 f; Alzinger a.O. 1607; Wrede a.O. 125.

39) Vgl. Anm. 38 und Fleischer a.O. 61.

40) Miltner a.O. 340; Wrede a.O. 125.

41) M. Rostowzew, *JdI* 19, 1904, 104 ff, Tav. VI, 2; Lorenz a.O. (Anm. 19) 39.



24-25 Doppelherme, Museo delle Terme



26-27 Theater in Perge

scher Zeit, der Zaun ist jedoch erst tetrarchisch (Abb. 26-7). Er trennt die Cavea von der Orchestra und zeigt, dass diese in späterer Zeit als Arena verwendet wurde, denn er sollte wohl Schutz vor den wilden Tieren bieten. Bei einer späteren Reparatur des Zaunes sind zwischen die gitterartig ausgestalteten Platten weitere glatte eingesetzt worden. Die Hermen sind zum Teil unvollendet, der Penis ist eingekratzt.

aus Blöcken herausgemeisselt, die zum zweiten Male verwendet sind: sie weisen auch auf der Rückseite einen Einschnitt auf, das heisst, sie waren in ihrer früheren Bestimmung Eckstücke.

Besonders umfangreich ist jedoch die spätantike Hermengallerie von Welschbiling: das Wasserbecken einer römischen Villa war dort von einem Steingeländer umgeben, dessen 112 Pfosten Hermen mit Köpfen von

Römern und Germanen, Feldherrn und Philosophen bildeten⁴².

Von der ephesischen Hermenbalustrade des Nymphaeum Traiani haben sich 3 Pfeiler samt den Köpfen und von einem nur der Kopf erhalten⁴³. Die Hermen stellen ausser unserem Bärtigen (Abb. 15-18), auf den im folgenden näher eingegangen werden soll, einen Frauenkopf des sog. Candia-Typus⁴⁴, einen weiteren Frauenkopf mit kronenartigem Kopfschmuck⁴⁵ und behelmten Krieger dar, dessen Pfeiler abgebrochen ist⁴⁶. Allen vier Köpfen sind eine strenge Unterteilung des Gesichtes durch die scharfen, waagrechten Brauen und auffallend kantig und breit gebildete Lider eigen⁴⁷, unseren Bärtigen zeichnet als einzigen die Angabe der Pupillen aus (Abb. 15). Er ist aus einem Block fein geaderten, mittelkristallinen Marmors gearbeitet, der

42) Wrede a.0. Taf. 1 ff; Lorenz a.0. 39 f.

43) Vielleicht gehört auch der Kopf eines bartlosen Mannes mit kurzem, gelocktem Haar im Depot des Museums von Selçuk zu der Reihe. Die freundliche Auskunft wird Herrn Doz. Dr. W. Alzinger verdankt.

44) Einst im Besitz des Museums von Selçuk. Miltner a.0. 356, Abb. 184; Fleischer a.0. 60, Abb. 25; Wrede a.0. Taf. 72, 1. Köpfe des sog. Candia-Typus sind in Ephesos 3fach belegt, vgl. Alzinger

a.0. 1689 f. Zu spätantiken Umbildungen von Werken strengen Stils vgl. P. Noelke, RM 75, 1968, 182-187.

45) Depot des Museums von Selçuk. Miltner a.0. 357, Abb. 185; Wrede a.0. 125, Taf. 72, 2: weibliche Gottheit; Fleischer a.0. 61 bezeichnet den Kopf als männlich.

46) Depot des Museums von Selçuk. Miltner a.0. 458, Abb. 186; Wrede a.0. 125, Taf. 72, 3: Mars?

47) vgl. Fleischer a.0. 61.

deutlich Spuren einer Wiederverwendung zeigt: während der Pfeiler auf der Rückseite fein geglättet ist - die ursprüngliche Oberfläche reicht bis zur halben Höhe des Hinterkopfes -, wurde das über den Kopf des Mannes gelegte Tuch nur roh herausgearbeitet (vgl. Abb. 16). Auch die Vorderseite des Pfeilers ist nur mit dem Flacheisen behandelt und ungeglättet belassen. Recht derb ist auch das Gesicht des Mannes über dem starken Hals gemeißelt, das dennoch eindrucksvoll und individuell wirkt: die gefurchte Stirn und die tiefe Falte zwischen den Augenbrauen verleihen ihm einen düsteren, sorgenvollen Ausdruck, die nahe beieinander stehenden Augen - sie sind leicht schielend gebildet - scheinen unter den geschwollenen Lidern nach innen zu blicken, und die breite Unterlippe ist mürrisch vorgeschoben. Ohne Zweifel ist dieser Kopf bei weitem differenzierter ausgeführt als die übrigen derselben Hermengalerie. Auffallend ist an ihm weiters die asymmetrische Bildung der beiden Gesichtshälften: das linke Auge liegt höher als das rechte, während das der breiteren rechten Gesichtshälfte entsprechend grösser gebildet ist. Der Scheitel ist zum rechten Auge hin verschoben, das Haar über der rechten Schläfe ausladender und auch der über den Kopf gezogene Mantel auf dieser Seite weiter abstehend, wogegen die ins Haar gelegte Binde auf der linken Kopfseite breiter angegeben ist.

Im Depot des Museums von Selçuk befindet sich ein weiteres Bildnis desselben Mannes, das offensichtlich nach demselben Vorbild wie unser Hermenpfeiler, aber viel roher gearbeitet ist (Abb.19)⁴⁸. Der Bärtige trägt hier Lockchen über der Stirn, die Binde im Haar fehlt. Sicher gehörte auch dieser Kopf zu einer Herme und nach der Art seiner Bearbeitung zu schliessen, war auch er in der Galerie des Nymphaeum Traiani aufgestellt⁴⁹.

Die porträthaften Züge des bärtigen Mannes sowie die Tatsache, dass sich in Ephesos zwei Bildnisse von ihm fanden, legen den Schluss nahe, dass es sich bei dem Dargestellten um eine berühmte historische Persönlichkeit handelt, die der Aufnahme in eine Hermengalerie würdig war. Seinem Typus nach ist er unter den Philosophen zu suchen, und der Stadt der Artemis gewaltigster Denker war Herakleitos.

Freilich stellt unser spätantiker Hermenkopf keine Kopie des wiedergewonnenen Heraklit-Portäts dar, er wurde vielmehr vom einheimischen Bildhauer in Anlehnung an den überlieferten Typus geschaffen, ihm nachempfunden. Vom Vorbild erhalten geblieben sind die gewaltige Stirn, der ernste Ausdruck und die auffallend üppige Unterlippe. Interessant ist die Augenbildung: fast scheint es, als wollte der Stienmetz durch die Asymmetrie, das Schielen und die dicken Lider den weinenden Philosophen wiedergeben⁵⁰, als sei ihm ein Heraclitus *fletu oculis clausis*⁵¹ vorgeschwebt. Weitere Zutaten sind die Binde im Haar und der über den Kopf gezogene Mantel, die zunächst eine Deutung des Bärtigen als Priester nahelegten⁵². Tatsächlich stammte Heraklit aus altem ephesischem Herrscheradel, in dem das Priestertum erblich war⁵³. Obwohl Heraklit dieses Amt seinem Bruder abtrat⁵⁴, scheint die Vorstellung vom ephesischen Philosophen als Opferkönig in der Antike lebendig geblieben zu sein, denn ein Passus im IV.pseudoheraklitischen Brief dürfte wohl auf seine Priesterwürde anspielen: τῷ βαμῶν ᾧ ἐφέστηκα - -⁵⁵.

Leider ist bei der mangelhaften Arbeit über die Form der Binde nicht allzuviel auszusagen, doch scheint es sich am ehesten um eine Wulstbinde zu handeln. Mit Wulstbinden sind die Porträts historischer Personen geschmückt, denen nach ihrem Tode heroische Ehren zuteil wurden⁵⁶, so etwa Homer, von dem eine Heroisierung belegt und Bildnisse mit Wulstbinde erhalten sind⁵⁷. Für Heraklit ist eine Heroisierung schon wegen seiner Gleichsetzung mit Herakles sicher anzunehmen, die Binde käme ihm dann wegen seiner Verschmelzung mit dem kultisch verehrten Zeussohn zu⁵⁸. Auch scheint unser Philosoph in Ephesos einen Altar besessen zu haben⁵⁹. So sprechen also die Attribute priesterlicher Würde oder göttlicher Verehrung nicht gegen eine Benennung der Herme auf Heraklit, ja sie bestätigen diese geradezu.

Auch die Einordnung eines Philosophenporträts in eine Hermengalerie, der zwei Göttinnen und ein Krieger angehören⁶⁰, bereitet keine Schwierigkeit: so zeigen die Hermenreihen im Garten der Villa der Pisonen in Herculanum u.a. Minerva und eine Priesterin, Ptole-

48) Inv.-Nr.1032. Gefunden 1958 von F.Miltner (ohne nähere Fundangabe). Erhaltene Höhe 0,285 m. Photo: G.Haas. Für die Abbildungserlaubnis sei Herrn Doz.Dr.W.Alzinger herzlichst gedankt.

49) Auch in Welschbillig sind 23 Hermen doppelt vertreten, vgl. Wrede, a.0.35.

50) Vgl.Anm.5,6.

51) Vgl.Anm.10.

52) Fleischer a.0.61.

53) Vgl.Anm.2.

54) Wie oben.

55) S.71,Z.18 Bywater; vgl.Marcovich a.0 (Anm.2) 250.

56) A.Krug, Binden in der griechischen Kunst 129.

57) Krug a.0.129; Richter, a.0.fig.25-57 (Apollonios-Typus). Von Homer ist auch ein Bildnis mit über den Hinterkopf gezogenem Mantel erhalten: Richter a.0fig.67; vgl.R.u.E. Boehringer, Homer. Bildnisse und Nachweise Bd.I, 106 ff, Taf.63 c,d: Das Hinterhaupt ist zum Zeichen der Apotheose verhüllt; W. Helbig, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom II (1966), 161,Nr.1335: Mantel ist Kopistenzutat.

58) Krug a.0.129 f. Zur Statue eines Heraklit-Herakles in Ephesos vgl.den IV.pseudoheraklitischen Brief S.72,Z.1 u.3 ed.Bywater; Marcovich a.0.256.

59) Marcovich a.0.256.

60) Vgl.Anm.44,45,46.

maios Philadelphos und einen Krieger, den sogenannten Pyrrhus, mit weiteren Porträts zu Gruppen vereint⁶¹, so stellt die Hermengalerie im Peristyl derselben Villa die Köpfe des polykletischen Doryphoros und einer Amazone neben Bildnisse historischer Persönlichkeiten⁶². Die Zusammenstellung von jugendlichen Köpfen und Philosophen zu Hermengalerien scheint sogar besonders beliebt gewesen zu sein⁶³. So ist auch ein Heraklit-

Porträt in der ephesischen Hermengalerie, der u.a. eine Göttin aus dem 5.Jh.v.Chr. angehört, nicht fehl am Platz.

61) Lorenz a.0.13 f, Taf. VIII-X; Frel, Klearchos 37-40, 1968, 69 ff; Pandermalis, AM 86, 1971, 198 f.

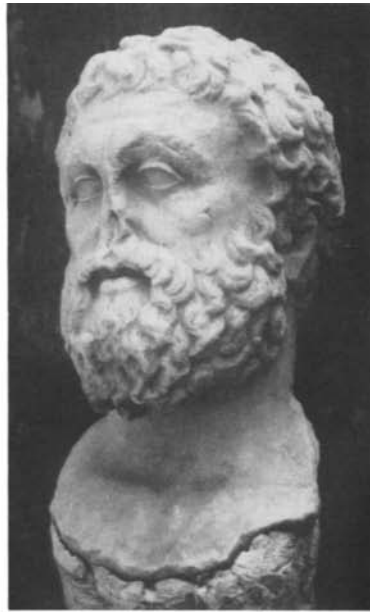
62) Vgl. Anm. 20.

63) Lorenz a.0.51 f.

Gerda Schwarz-Graz
Jiří Frel - Malibu



28-29 Herakleitos, Museo di Villa Giulia



30 Herakleitos, Palazzo Massimi Alle Colonne

POSTSCRIPTUM

Since these lines were written another replica of Heraclitus was found in Italy (figs. 28, 29) on temporary display in the Villa Giulia, Rome. It seems to have been carved in the early second century A.D., and it is of rather good quality. G. Battaglia recognized it as a replica of the type, but she does not accept the identification as Heraclitus. (Museo di Villa Giulia. Nuove scoperte e acquisiti nell'Etruria Meri-

dionale, Rome, 1975, p. 248, f., pl. 78.2)

Statius fared better. His Heraclitus was considered authoritative by a Roman sculptor who, perhaps in the seventeenth century, carved a herm-bust with a head exactly reproducing Statius' print. Today it decorates the niche over the main door of the *piano nobile* in the Palazzo Massimi Alle Colonne. Heraclitus' name, patronymic, and origin were engraved on the shaft of the herm copying Statius, but with some misspellings (fig. 30).



J. Paul Getty Museum (1-2)



A LATE MINOAN STONE VASE

The scarcity of Minoan artifacts in American collections adds importance to a serpentine bowl presented to the Getty Museum.

76.AA.22, presented by Ira Goldberg

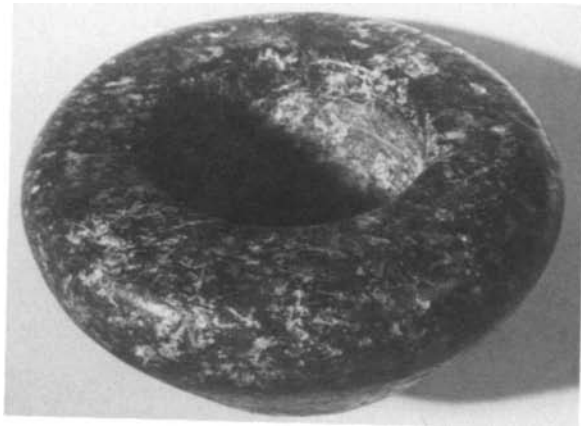
H. 0.081 m.; d. 0.156 m.; base d. 0.068 m.; d. of interior opening at top 0.079 m.

Dark grey serpentine with white flecs. Bowl has flat base, smoothed at edges. Straight upward flaring side walls, rounded shoulder. Top is flattened. Interior is hollowed by drilling, narrowing toward the base.

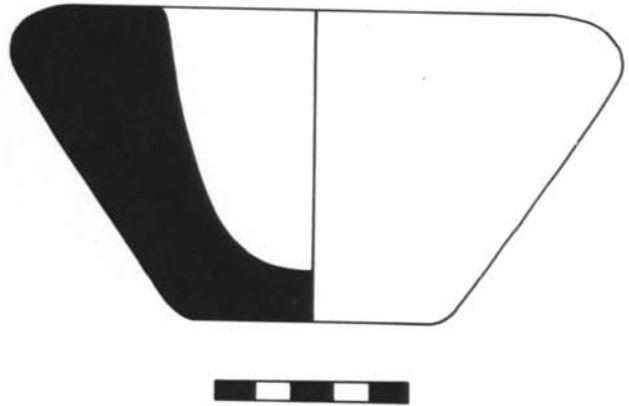
Slight restoration on top of rim: in modern times, the vase was adapted to an ashtray - the three holes are now

filled with plaster; surface pitted, especially near base and scratched. Drill marks visible on interior sides indicate use of metal drill (Warren 1969: 161). Small depression in bottom centre (d.ca. 0.005) where drill end abutted. Original exterior surface was polished, interior left roughened except for 0.01 m. at top. Wear at top of cavity may indicate that the piece originally had a fitted lid.

This small stone vase falls into the category Minoan bird's nest bowls. The name is derived from the shape which characteristically features a restricted base, curved sides, flattened top and an interior cavity which is small, conical and does not conform to the shape of the exterior.



J. Paul Getty Museum (3-4)



The earliest examples of bird's nest bowls in Crete are Early Minoan III (circa. 2,000 B.C.). They are subsequently found in great quantity in funerary context in Middle Minoan I and II (circa. 1900-1700 B.C.). These early examples are small, usually under 0.05 m. in height and 0.10 m. in diameter (Warren 1969: 8-9).

The shape continues to be used but is enlarged in the Middle Minoan III - Late Minoan I period (circa 1550-1450 B.C.). In the later form, diameters average over 0.12 m., heights over 0.06 m.

Reference:

Warren, P.
1969. *Minoan Stone Vases*. Cambridge Classical Studies.
Cambridge University Press.

There are twelve known published examples of this type catalogue by Warren (Ibid: 9). All are made of serpentine (frequently confused with steatite, Ibid: 138) and come primarily from settlement contexts. The Getty Museum piece belongs to the Late Minoan period by virtue of size and material. The closest comparative example is from Mallia, House E (Heraklion Museum #2426, Warren 1969: P. 28; D. 12; h. 0.765 m.).

The function of such bowls is still unknown. The later pieces are found in settlement rather than funerary context (Ibid: 166) indicating a shift in their use. The shape is very rarely imitated in clay (Ibid: 169, Table 9) and ultimately derives from Egyptian predynastic and early examples which were probably used as unguent containers.

Hara Georgiou
UC Irvine

UNE MOSAÏQUE GALLO-ROMAINE AU MUSÉE J. PAUL GETTY

Au cours de nos recherches pour le *Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule* (1), nous avons été amenés à traiter d'une mosaïque trouvée en Provence au début de ce siècle, et qui constitue aujourd'hui l'une des pièces les plus intéressantes du Musée J. Paul Getty. Elle faisait partie à l'origine d'un groupe de quatre pavements mis au jour près de Villelaure, petit village situé à 25 kms au nord d'Aix-en-Provence, dans le département du Vaucluse.

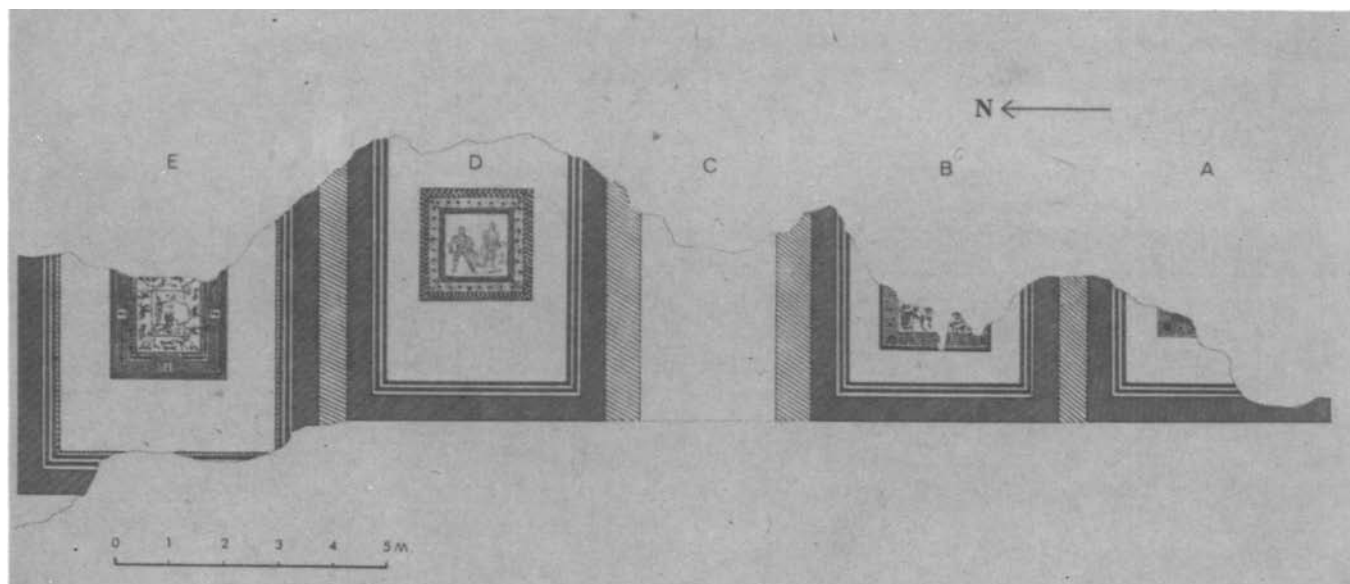
La date de découverte remonte à l'année 1832 lorsque l'intendant du Marquis de Forbin-Janson mit au jour les quatre mosaïques, dans un terrain du quartier dit de la "Tuilière", à 2kms du village auquel on pense que les restes de la *villa* romaine où se trouvaient ces pavements ont donné leur nom, *Villa Laura* s'étant transformé en *Villelaure* à l'époque moderne. Les mosaïques, recouvertes de 0 m 80 de sol arable, furent immédiatement réenfouies. Leur dégagement véritable

n'eut lieu qu'en 1899 et 1900, lorsque le nouveau propriétaire, M. Peyrusse, fit des fouilles dans les substructions de la *villa*. Devant l'importance de la trouvaille, celui-ci avertit le Président de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres², qui transmit l'information au Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, pour être communiquée à la Commission des Travaux Historiques (section archéologie). Cette dernière envoya sur place le célèbre spécialiste de la mosaïque antique, Héron de Villefosse³, ainsi que G. Lafaye qui devait être chargé

1. H. Lavagne, *Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule*, X Supplément à *Gallia*, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, Narbonnaise, III, 2, à paraître.

2. *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1900, p. 222.

3. *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1900, p. CXIII.



1. Les mosaïques de Villelaure.

par la suite de la publication de *l'Inventaire des mosaïques de la province de Narbonnaise*. L'événement fit grand bruit dans les milieux archéologiques et quatre articles lui furent consacrés, dûs aux meilleurs connaisseurs de l'époque. Le premier, très succinct, de G. Lafaye, en 1901⁴, était accompagné d'une médiocre photographie de la mosaïque la mieux conservée, celle aujourd'hui au Musée P. Getty. De son côté, L.H. Labande, Conservateur du Musée Calvet d'Avignon, qui était en pourparlers avec le propriétaire pour acheter les mosaïques, écrivit une étude beaucoup plus approfondie⁵ pour relater les circonstances de la trouvaille et souligner l'intérêt iconographique des sujets figurés. Dans le même volume du *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1903), Héron de Villefosse ajoutait une note importante à l'article de Labande et donnait des mosaïques deux aquarelles remarquables, dues à l'architecte H. Nodet⁶. Ces planches en couleurs furent reprises dans *l'Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule* de G. Lafaye en 1909⁷.

Les mosaïques furent déposées par les soins d'un mosaïste italien, et des tractations s'engagèrent pour en négocier la vente. La mosaïque A (cf. plan de situation fig. 1), très mutilée, et dont on ne possédait déjà plus que la bordure géométrique et un petit fragment polychrome⁸, fut donnée à l'Académie de Vaucluse, pour orner le Musée Calvet d'Avignon. En 1909⁹, L.H. Labande indique encore qu'elle se trouve dans les réserves de ce Musée en attendant de pouvoir être présentée dans les salles d'exposition. Elle n'a malheureusement pas été retrouvée. La mosaïque B, elle aussi très fragmentaire, qui représentait une scène nilotique (cas unique en Gaule), a également disparu,

très probablement détruite. Les pavements D et E, les mieux conservés, furent vendus par le propriétaire à un antiquaire de Nîmes, après avoir été vainement proposés au Musée du Louvre. Ils finirent par aboutir en 1923 chez un antiquaire parisien, R. Ancel. A cette date, le Conservateur des Antiquités grecques et romaines du Louvre, E. Michon, entama des négociations pour les faire acheter par son département¹⁰ et les signala à la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France¹¹ ainsi qu'au Comité des Travaux Historiques¹². Les propositions d'achat n'aboutirent pas et ce fut Joseph Brummer qui les fit acquérir pour sa collection newyorkaise en 1926. Passées aux États-Unis, ces mosaïques restèrent un certain temps à la Brummer Gallery¹³; nous savons

4. G.Lafaye, dans *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1901, p.117.

5. L.H.Labande, *Les mosaïques romaines de Villelaure (Vaucluse)*, dans *B.A.C.T.H.*, 1903, p. 3-13.

6. *ibid.*, pl. I et II en couleurs.

7. G.Lafaye, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule*, I, *Narbonnaise et Aquitaine*, Paris, 1909, n. 102-105.

8. Selon Labande, *op.cit.*, une bordure en méandre de svastikas; peut-être un fragment de poisson polychrome dans un angle.

9. L.H.Labande, *Congrès archéologique de France*, Avignon, 1909 (Paris 1910), p.81.

10. Archives du Musée du Louvre, Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, A 5, 28 Février 1923. Je remercie M.F.Baratte, Conservateur aux Antiquités Romaines de ce département, de m'avoir fait part de ce document, et de m'avoir considérablement aidé dans mes recherches auprès de la Brummer Gallery.

11. *B.S.N.A.E.*, 1923, p.109.

12. *B.A.C.T.H.*, 1923, p.LX.

13. D'après Mrs. Brummer, une mosaïque analogue fut vendue en 1947 à Kleinberger lors de la Vente Parke-Bernet. Nous n'avons pu consulter ce catalogue.

ensuite que la mosaïque D fut achetée par W.R. Hearst (San Simeon), qui la céda à la Collection James Evans (Cambria, Californie), et c'est en 1971 que le Musée J. Paul Getty en fit à son tour l'acquisition. On peut considérer que la mosaïque E, déjà en très mauvais état au dire d'E. Michon en 1923, n'a pas supporté ces transferts, et est actuellement détruite.

Une fois retracé ce long périple qui nous a menés du Vaucluse à Malibu, en passant par Paris et New-York, il faut examiner la seule rescapée de ces aventures, la mosaïque D. Telle que nous la voyons aujourd'hui, sa surface ne représente qu'une partie du pavement originel. En effet, le tableau central (2m 06 x 2 m 06) qui est seul conservé, constituait une sorte de pseudo-emblema au milieu d'un tapis qui mesurait 4m 72 de large sur une longueur d'environ 7 à 8 mètres. Il était composé d'une large bordure noire (0 m 46), puis de deux bandes blanches alternant avec deux bordures noires qui délimitaient un champ uni de couleur blanche, au milieu duquel se détachait la scène figurée. (cf. fig. 1).

Celle-ci était en bon état de conservation lors de la découverte, sauf une lacune à l'emplacement de l'épaule gauche du personnage de droite et dans la partie arrière de sa tête. Ces deux endroits ont été habilement restaurés. Trois bordures différentes entourent le panneau central. La première est une bande de chevrons noirs et blancs; la seconde est un rinceau polychrome sur fond blanc, dont les volutes se répètent symétriquement sur chaque côté. Des enroulements végétaux jaillissent de petits carrés d'angles rouges, inscrits dans des carrés blancs cernés de noir. Les feuilles, en position tête-bêche, sont des *hederae* et des feuilles composites à cinq éléments, dont les nervures et les contours sont tracés en cubes noirs. Les extrémités sont rouges, la base des feuilles, grise. La troisième bordure interne est une simple tresse à deux brins polychromes, où se succèdent les tons rouge, bistre et blanc. (fig. 2).

La scène représentée est le dernier moment du combat de Darès et Entelle dans l'*Énéide*.¹⁴ Entelle, nu, barbu, s'avance de face au premier plan, les bras armés du ceste aux lanières de cuir. Il jette un regard oblique et triomphant vers Darès qui s'éloigne, le dos tourné, l'air furieux. Quelques tesselles rouges figurent une blessure à son front d'où le sang s'écoule. A l'arrière-plan, un taureau s'abat entre les deux lutteurs, la cervelle broyée par le dernier coup de ceste que lui a asséné Entelle.

Le texte de l'*Énéide* est traduit avec une grande fidélité. L'attitude d'Entelle, sa satisfaction de vainqueur s'exprime dans une musculature puissante aux effets un peu appuyés, et reflète le vers 473 de Virgile:

Hic victor superans animis tauroque superbis . . .

Dans les détails, l'artiste a respecté scrupuleusement les indications du poète, et il nous donne ainsi le moyen de trancher entre deux interprétations possibles, par exemple, pour l'expression controversée: . . . *velatum auro vittisque juvencum*. Les commentateurs modernes l'interprètent souvent 'comme signifiant' aux cornes dorées"¹⁵. Mais le mosaïste, en figurant les cornes en pâte de verre de couleur bleue, nous fait comprendre que seules les bandelettes (représentées en cubes jaunes) qui ornent le front de l'animal sont dorées. Quant au mouvement de la bête qui s'affaisse sur ses jarrets, il rend avec justesse le rythme même du vers virgilien et l'expressivité si particulière du monosyllabe final:

. . . effractoque illisit in ossa cerebro

Sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos.

(v. 479-480).

Mais au delà de cette fidélité de détails, l'artiste a su rendre avec finesse le ton même de ce combat tel qu'il nous est décrit par Virgile. On sait que le livre V de l'*Énéide* marque une pause dans la tension dramatique de poème; les luttes sportives qui s'y déroulent sont toutes empreintes d'une certaine gaieté cordiale, accentuée par la présence de la foule des spectateurs Troyens et Siciliens, qui acclament, applaudissent ou invectivent leurs champions selon la force de leurs prouesses. C'est toute cette atmosphère de liesse qu'il faut imaginer en regardant cette mosaïque pour en apprécier la saveur. Virgile fait naître dans l'esprit du lecteur une ironie très subtile en jouant du contraste entre le vocabulaire épique qu'il emploie¹⁶ et l'aspect parfois risible de ce qui n'est finalement qu'un pugilat peu glorieux, où l'un des lutteurs a commencé par refuser de se battre et ne remporte la victoire que poussé par la colère et l'humiliation d'une chute malencontreuse. Le mosaïste, de son côté, avec les moyens propres à son art, suggère cette ironie, en grossissant le trait, et en soulignant les attitudes, les regards et les gestes. Il ne faut donc pas considérer cette mosaïque comme une oeuvre "provinciale", avec le sens péjoratif que l'on donne parfois à ce terme, et ne voir dans sa facture un peu lourde que les marques d'un style qui recopie un "carton" tiré d'un cahier de modèles. Elle nous paraît, au contraire, avoir su transposer de façon remarquable, l'atmosphère même du combat de Darès et Entelle dans le passage de Virgile.

14. *Énéide*, V, vers 362 à 484.

15. J. Conington, *The Works of Virgil*, Hildesheim, 1963, II, p. 365.

16. G. Stegen, *Un match de pugilat vu par Virgile*, dans *Vergiliana, recherches sur Virgile*, ed. H. Bardon et R. Verdière, Leydes, 1971, p. 354-357. Le passage est inspiré par le chant XXIII de l'*Illiade*.



2. Darès et Entelle. J.Paul Getty Museum 71.AH.106

Est-il possible de dater cette mosaïque? N. Neuerberg¹⁷ a proposé le troisième siècle. Cette datation nous paraît un peu trop tardive. D'une part l'organisation du pavement, sa "mise en page" qui détache le tableau central sur un champ uni monochrome, les bordures noires qui l'accompagnent, rappellent encore nettement la disposition des mosaïques de type hellénistique qui mettent en valeur un *emblema* au milieu d'une composition, et dont on trouve encore des "dérivations" lointaines avant l'époque sévérienne.¹⁸ D'autre part, si la tresse polychrome est un ornement trop communément répandu pour donner un indice de datation, les deux autres bordures sont plus significatives. Le cadre en chevrons, qui au troisième siècle en Narbonnaise, ne paraît plus utilisé que comme bordure de petits panneaux dans les mosaïques dites "à décor multiple"¹⁹, est bien attesté à époque ancienne comme encadrement de tapis de plus grande taille. On en a des exemples à Pompéii²⁰, dans un pavement aujourd'hui au Musée de Turin²¹, et à Reggio Emilia²², dans des mosaïques datées du premier siècle de notre ère. En Provence, on rappellera notamment le cas d'une mosaïque d'Orange²³ et des exemples analogues à Nîmes²⁴ où les bandes en chevrons figurent dans des compositions certainement antérieures au troisième siècle. Le rinceau de la deuxième bordure donne une indication un peu plus tardive: son aspect grêle, la monotonie des symétries dans les volutes à peine végétalisées, appellent la comparaison avec des mosaïques de Lyon datées de la fin du deuxième siècle²⁵. Outre ces arguments stylistiques, on peut recourir à des arguments externes, en considérant les autres pavements qui voisinaient avec la mosaïque D, et qui, *a priori*, sont de la même époque. Celui de la pièce B est susceptible de fournir un élément important: il représentait un paysage nilotique où l'on distinguait les constructions et les animaux traditionnels des rives du Nil, exécutés dans un style classique, avec des caractéristiques qui orientent plutôt vers une datation d'avant l'époque sévérienne²⁶. Il n'est pas sûr que l'on puisse se servir de la mosaïque de la pièce E comme élément de confrontation, car elle se trouvait dans une pièce décalée par rapport au plan de la villa (cf. fig. 1), et elle n'appartient peut-être pas au même programme iconographique. Notons cependant que même sa bordure en "redans" peut se situer à la fin du deuxième siècle²⁷. Compte tenu de tous ces indices, nous proposons de placer la date de la mosaïque du Musée J. Paul Getty avant le troisième siècle, probablement dans le dernier quart du second siècle.

Outre l'intérêt qu'elle présente pour notre connaissance de la culture littéraire en Gaule à cette époque, ce pavement atteste l'existence d'un atelier provençal installé vraisemblablement à Aix-en-Provence. On connaît en effet, une autre réplique du combat de Darès



3. Darès et Entelle Mosaïque détruite.
(Aix-en-Provence).

et Entelle dans cette ville. Elle fut trouvée en 1790²⁸ et détruite presque aussitôt après. Une lithographie (fig. 3) parue en 1835 dans l'ouvrage de F. Artaud²⁹ nous montre la similitude des deux représentations, malgré la maladresse du dessinateur. D'un point de vue historique, il est frappant de constater que ces mosaïques ont été découvertes toutes les deux dans les limites du

17. C.Vermeule, N.Neuerburg, *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J.P.Getty Museum*, n.114,p.54,Cf. également, *The J.P. Getty Museum*, ed. Burton B.Fredericksen,1975, notice d'Helen Lattimore, p.55.

18. cf.sur l'ensemble de cette évolution, G.Becatti, *Alcune caratteristiche del mosaico policromo in Italia*, dans *La mosaïque Gréco-Romaine*,II, Vienne, 1971 (Paris, 1975), p.175-190.

19. H.Stern, *Ateliers de mosaïstes rhodaniens d'époque gallo-romaine*, dans *La mosaïque Gréco-romaine*, I, p.233-243.

20. M.E.Blake, *The Pavements of the Roman Buildings of the Republic and the early Empire*, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, VIII,1930,pl.VIII,à;pl.42,4; dans E.Pernice, *Pavimente und figürliche Mosaiken*, VI *Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji*, Berlin,1938,pl.30(8,4,4).

21. Musée de Turin, dans Blake,I,pl.40,3.

22. Reggio Emilia, *Not.Scav.*1960,p.249,fig.2.Dans Blake,I,pl.37,6.

23. *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule*,I,n.108.

24. E.Espérandieu, *Les mosaïques de Nîmes*, Nîmes,1935,n.11,35,et n.6,pl.1.

25. H.Stern, *Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule, Lyonnaise*, II,1,n.46,47,116.Cf. également à Nîmes, dans Espérandieu, op.cit., n.299.

26. L.Foucher, *Les mosaïques nilotiques africaines*, dans *La mosaïque Gréco-romaine*,I, p.141.

27. Sur ce critère de datation,cf.H.Stern, *Recueil*,I,3,n.314.

28. *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule*, n.44.

29. F.Artaud, *Histoire abrégée de la peinture en mosaïque*, Lyon,1835,p.99-101. La planche XLVII de cet ouvrage a été faite à partir d'une gravure de L.A.Millin, *Voyage dans les départements du Midi de la France*, Paris,1807, Atlas, pl.XXXV.

territoire appartenant, avant la conquête, à la Confédération des Salyens, Villelaure, aujourd'hui dans le département du Vaucluse, faisait partie du territoire des Dexivates qui dépendaient des Salyens d'Aix-en-Provence, (actuellement dans le département des Bouches-du-Rhône). Le cours de la Durance qui sépare les deux sites ne constituait donc pas une frontière³⁰, en l'on peut fort bien imaginer qu'un riche propriétaire de la cité aixoise pouvait avoir une *villa rustica* dans la plaine fertile de la Durance, où il aurait fait représenter une scène qui lui était chère.

Il reste enfin à se demander quelles sont les raisons qui ont pu pousser au choix de cette scène de l'*Énéide*, qui ne passe pas, aux yeux de la critique moderne, pour un des sommets de l'art virgilien. On peut invoquer le goût personnel du commanditaire, mais aussi suggérer derrière cette représentation une de ces leçons morales qui l'on trouve fréquemment dans la mosaïque antique. On notera que ce n'est pas la lutte des deux pugilistes qui nous est montrée, mais l'issue du combat qui

consacre la victoire d'Entelle sur Darès. Or celui-ci a commis une faute en se croyant vainqueur avant même d'entrer en lice. Il a fait preuve d'une *hybris* coupable et a été condamné par les dieux. C'est précisément ce que lui rappelle Énée:

Infelix, quae tanta animum dementia cepit?

Non viris alias conuersaque numina sentis?

Cede deo.

v.465-467.

La présence du taureau dans cette scène ajoute encore à cette résonance religieuse, car au lieu de garder ce prix du combat offert au vainqueur par Énée, Entelle en fait le sacrifice aux mânes d'Eryx. En cela, il répète le geste de désintéressement d'Héraclès, lorsque celui-ci, après avoir vaincu Éryx en Sicile, n'avait pas voulu conserver pour lui le royaume de son adversaire. Se garder de toute *dementia*, et pratiquer la vertu de désintéressement, gage de l'accord avec les dieux, tels pourraient être les deux enseignements qui ont fait retenir cette mosaïque.

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30. Sur ces problèmes de géographie historique, voir G. Barrauol, *Les peuples préromains du Sud-Est de la Gaule*, p.204-205.

